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HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY.

VOL. I.
A. D. 1-311.

HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY
PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D.,
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

VOL. I.
FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE
A. D. 1-311.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION.
THREE VOLS. IN TWO.

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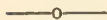
In token of sincere esteem and friendship,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.



ENCOURAGED by the favorable reception of my History of the Apostolic Church, I now offer to the public a History of the Primitive Church from the birth of Christ to the reign of Constantine, as an independent and complete work in itself, and at the same time as the first volume of a general history of Christianity, which I promised several years ago, and which I hope, with the help of God, to bring down to the present age.

The church of the first three centuries, or the ante-Nicene age, possesses a peculiar interest for Christians of all denominations, and has often been separately treated, by Eusebius, Mosheim, Milman, Kaye, Baur, Hagenbach, and other distinguished historians. It is the daughter of Apostolic Christianity, which itself constitutes the first and by far the most important chapter in its history, and the common mother of Catholicism and Protestantism, though materially differing from both. It presents a state of primitive simplicity and purity unsullied by contact with the secular power, but with this also, the fundamental forms of heresy and corruption, which reappear from time to time under new names and aspects, but must serve, in the overruling providence of God, to promote the cause of truth and righteousness. It is the heroic age of the church, and unfolds before us the sublime spectacle of our holy religion in intellectual and moral conflict with the combined superstition, policy, and wisdom of ancient Judaism and Paganism; yet growing in persecution, conquering in death, and amidst the severest trials giving birth to principles and institutions which, in more matured form, still control the greater part of Christendom.

Without the least disposition to detract from the merits of my numerous predecessors, to several of whom I feel deeply indebted, I have reason to hope, that this new attempt at a historical reproduction of ancient Christianity will meet a want in our theological literature and commend itself, both by its

spirit and method, and by presenting with the author's own labors the results of the latest German and English research, to the respectful attention of the American student. Having no sectarian ends to serve, I have confined myself to the duty of a witness—to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; always remembering, however, that history has a soul as well as a body, and that the ruling ideas and general principles must be represented no less than the outward facts and dates. A church history without the life of Christ glowing through its pages could give us at best only the picture of a temple stately and imposing from without, but vacant and dreary within, a mummy in praying posture perhaps and covered with trophies, but withered and unclean: such a history is not worth the trouble of writing or reading. Let the dead bury their dead; we prefer to live among the living, and to record the immortal thoughts and deeds of Christ in and through his people, rather than dwell upon the outer hulls, the trifling accidents and temporary scaffolding of history, or give too much prominence to Satan and his infernal tribe, whose works Christ came to destroy.

The account of the apostolic period, which forms the divine-human basis of the whole structure of history, or the ever living fountain of the unbroken stream of the church, is here necessarily short and not intended to supersede my larger work, although it presents more than a mere summary of it, and views the subject in part under new aspects. For the history of the second period, which constitutes the body of this volume, large use has been made of the new sources of information recently brought to light, such as the Syriac and Armenian Ignatius, and especially the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus. The bold and searching criticism of modern German historians as applied to the apostolic and post-apostolic literature, though often arbitrary and untenable in its results, has nevertheless done good service by removing old prejudices, placing many things in a new light, and conducing to a comprehensive and organic view of the living process and gradual growth of ancient Christianity in its distinctive character, both in its unity with, and difference from, the preceding age of the apostles and the succeeding systems of Catholicism and Protestantism.

In the notes it has been thought preferable to quote sparingly, and only from primary sources, without distracting the attention of the reader by all sorts of opinions and conjectures of later historians. But at the head of the leading sections he will find a select bibliographical apparatus, in chronological order, directing him to the best original and secondary authorities for more minute information. This apparatus includes many English and American works which have escaped the attention of German scholars, otherwise so familiar with the remotest recesses of ancient literature. Owing to the want of aid in this direction and my distance from large University libraries, I had to col-

lect them with considerable trouble, and must plead the indulgence of the reader if the list be still defective. It is to be regretted that English scholars are not more careful in referring to authorities, and mostly neglect to mention the place and date of publication, as well as the edition made use of, so that it is often impossible to verify their quotations. Bibliography, "the mariner's compass in learning," has been rather neglected in England. Lowndes' Manual, however, as revised and enlarged by Henry G. Bohn, two parts of which have quite recently come to hand, promises when completed and brought down to the present time to remedy this defect, and to be a valuable help to bibliographers.

In conclusion I must express, in this public way, my sense of obligation to the Rev. Edward D. Yeomans, for his assistance in the preparation of this work. After I had written a large portion of the present volume and succeeding periods in English, and submitted several chapters to him for revision, he expressed the wish that I might rewrite the whole in my native German, which I did. The suggestion, I am now convinced, has had a happy effect upon the plan, the contents, and the present form of the work. He has executed the translation from my manuscripts with a rare degree of ability and the most conscientious fidelity, and thus given it a far more genuine English dress than I could have done myself. In the final revision and the numerous additions to his translation I have taken care not to deface the unity of style, although there may be still occasional Germanisms or other defects, for which I beg alone to be held responsible. I sincerely hope that my esteemed friend may be rewarded for his arduous labor by the same unqualified approval as that bestowed upon his translation of my *History of the Apostolic Church*, in regard to which a competent critic and distinguished writer remarked, that it has "all the ease and freedom, the organic fitness of the word to the thought, in short, the entire at-homeness of the substance in the form, as if it were the original language of the composition; insomuch that one would scarcely suspect it of being a translation, unless he were told so."

And now I commit this work to the great Head of the church with the prayer that, under his blessing, it may aid in promoting a correct knowledge of his heavenly kingdom on earth, and in setting forth its history as a book of life, a storehouse of wisdom and piety, and the surest test of his own promise to his people: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

P. S.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.

Nov. 8, 1858.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

LITERATURE.

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Compare also the introductory chapters of the general works on church history; especially those of FLEURY, ALZOG, and DÖLLINGER, on the Roman Catholic side, and, on the Protestant, those of MOSHEIM, SCHROECKH, GIESELER, HASE, NIEDNER, KURTZ (*Handbuch*. 3d ed. 1853. I. 1-45), and SCHAFF (*History of the Apostolic Church; with a General Introduction to Ch. H.* N. York, 1853. p. 1-134). NEANDER goes *in medias res* without any formal introduction.

§ 1. *Nature of Church History.*

THE history of the church is the unfolding in time of the eternal purpose of redeeming love. It is the progressive development of the kingdom of heaven upon earth, for the glory of

God and the salvation of the world. It begins with the creation of Adam, who was himself a type of Christ, the second Adam and with that promise of the serpent-bruiser, which relieved the loss of the paradise of innocence by the hope of future redemption from the curse of sin. It comes down through the preparatory revelations under the patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets, to the immediate forerunner of the Saviour, who pointed his followers to the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. But this part of its course was only introduction. Its proper starting-point is the incarnation of the Eternal Word, who dwelt among us and revealed his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; and next to this, the miracle of the first pentecost, when the church took her place as a Christian institution, filled with the spirit of the glorified Redeemer and entrusted with the conversion of all nations. Jesus Christ, the God-man and Saviour of the world, is the author of the new creation, the soul and the head of the church, which is his body and his bride. In his person and work lies all the fulness of the Godhead and of renewed humanity, the whole plan of redemption, and the key of all history from the creation of man in the image of God to the resurrection of the body unto everlasting life.

In the subjective sense of the word, considered as theological science and art, church history is the faithful and life-like description of the origin and progress of this heavenly kingdom. It aims to reproduce in thought and embody in language its outward and inward development down to the present time. It is a continuous commentary on the Lord's twin parables of the mustard-seed and of the leaven. It shows at once how Christianity spreads over the world, and how it penetrates, transforms, and sanctifies the individual and all the departments and institutions of social life. It thus embraces not only the external fortunes of Christendom, but more especially her inward experience, her religious life, her mental and moral activity, her conflicts with the ungodly world, her sorrows and sufferings, her joys and her triumphs over sin and error.

From Jesus Christ, since his manifestation in the flesh, an unbroken stream of divine light and life has flowed through the waste of our fallen race; and all that is truly great and good and holy in the annals of church history, is due, ultimately, to the impulse of his spirit. But he works upon the world through sinful and fallible men, who, while as self-conscious and free agents they are accountable for all their actions, must still, willing or unwilling, serve the great purpose of God. As Christ, also, in the days of his flesh, was hated, mocked, and crucified, his church likewise is assailed and persecuted by the powers of darkness. The history of Christianity includes therefore a history of antichrist. With an unbroken succession of works of saving power and manifestations of divine truth and holiness, it uncovers also a fearful mass of corruption and error. The church militant must, from its very nature, be at perpetual warfare with the world, the flesh, and the devil, both without and even within. For as Judas sat among the apostles, so "the man of sin" sits in the temple of God; and as even a Peter denied the Lord, though he afterwards wept bitterly and regained his holy office, so do the disciples to this day deny him in word and deed.

But then, church history also shows, that God is ever stronger than Satan, and that his kingdom of light puts the kingdom of darkness to shame. The Lion of the tribe of Judah has bruised the head of the serpent. With the crucifixion of Christ his resurrection also is repeated ever anew in the history of his church on earth; and there has never yet been a day nor an hour without a witness of his presence and power ordering all things according to his holy will. For he has received all power in heaven and in earth for the good of his people, and from his heavenly throne he rules even his foes. The infallible word of promise, confirmed by all experience, assures us, that all corruptions, heresies, and schisms must, under the guidance of divine wisdom and love, subserve the cause of truth, holiness, and unity; till, at the last judgment, Christ shall make his enemies his footstool, and rule undisputed with the sceptre of righteous-

ness and peace, and his church shall realize her idea and destiny as "the fullness of him that filleth all in all."

Then will history itself, in its present form, as a struggling and changeful development, give place to perfection, and the stream of time come to rest in the ocean of eternity.

§ 2. *Branches of Church History.*

The kingdom of Christ, in its principle and aim, is as comprehensive as humanity. It is truly catholic, designed and adapted for all nations and ages, for all the powers of the soul, and all classes of society. It breathes into the mind, the heart, and the will a higher, supernatural life, and consecrates the family the state, science, literature, art, and commerce to holy ends, till finally God becomes all in all. Even the body, and the whole visible creation, which groans for redemption from its bondage to vanity and for the glorious liberty of the children of God, shall share in this universal transformation; for we look for the resurrection of the body, and for the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

Accordingly church history has various departments, corresponding to the different branches of secular history and of natural life. The principal divisions are:

1. The history of missions, or of the spread of Christianity among unconverted nations, whether barbarous or civilized. This work must continue, till the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in, and Israel shall be saved. Besides foreign missions, there is also an equally important work of domestic missions, or the revival and reformation of lifeless or neglected portions of the church itself.

2. The history of persecution by hostile powers; as by Judaism and Heathenism in the first three centuries, and by Mohammedanism in the middle age. This apparent repression of the church, however, proves a purifying process, brings out the moral heroism of martyrdom, and thus works in the end for the spread and establishment of Christianity. "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church."

Persecution, like missions, is both foreign and domestic. Besides being assailed from without, the church suffers also from intestine wars and persecutions. Witness the religious wars in France and Holland, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the Puritan commotions in England; the crusade against the Albigenses under Innocent III., the persecution of the Waldenses, and the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. These form the saddest and darkest chapter in the history of the church. But they show also the gradual progress of the truly Christian spirit of religious toleration and freedom.

3. The history of church government and discipline. The church is not only an invisible communion of saints, but at the same time a visible body, needing organs, laws, and forms, to regulate its activity. Into this department of history fall the various forms of church government; the apostolic, the primitive episcopal, the patriarchal, the papal, the consistorial, the presbyterial, the congregational, &c.; and the history of the law and discipline of the church, and her relation to the state, under all these forms.

4. The history of worship or divine service, by which the church celebrates, revives, and strengthens her fellowship with her divine head. This falls into such subdivisions as the history of preaching, of catechisms, of liturgy, of sacred rites, especially the sacraments, and of religious art, particularly sacred poetry and music.

The history of church government and the history of worship are often put together under the title of Ecclesiastical Antiquities or Archæology, and commonly confined to the patristic age, whence most of the catholic institutions and usages of the church date their origin. But they may as well be extended to the formative period of Protestantism.

5. The history of Christian life, or practical morality and religion;—the exhibition of the distinguishing virtues and vices of different ages, of the development of Christian philanthropy, the regeneration of domestic and social life, the gradual abatement of slavery and other social evils, the reform of civil law

and of government, the spread of civil and religious liberty, and the whole progress of civilization, under the influence of Christianity.

6. The history of theology, or of Christian science and literature. Each branch of theology, exegetical, doctrinal, ethical, historical, and practical, has a history of its own. But the history of doctrines is here the most important, and is therefore frequently treated by itself. Its object is to show how the mind of the church has gradually apprehended and unfolded the divine truth given in the holy scriptures, how the teachings of scripture have come to form the dogmas of the church, and have grown into systems stamped with public authority. This growth of the church in the knowledge of the infallible word of God is a constant struggle against error and unbelief; and the history of heresies is an essential part of the history of doctrines.

These departments of church history have not a merely external and mechanical but an organic relation to each other, and form one living whole; and this relation the historian must show. Each period also is entitled to a peculiar arrangement, according to its character. The number, order, and extent of the different divisions must be determined by their actual importance at a given time.

§ 2 *Sources of Church History.*

The sources of church history, the data on which we rely for our knowledge, are partly divine, partly human. For the history of the kingdom of God from the fall to the incarnation and the apostolic age, we have the inspired writings of the Old and New Testaments. But after the death of the apostles we have only human authorities, which of course cannot claim to be infallible. These human sources are partly written, partly unwritten.

I. The written sources include:

(a) Official documents of ecclesiastical and civil authorities;—acts of councils, confessions of faith, liturgies, church laws, and the official letters of popes, patriarchs, bishops, and synods.

(b) Private writings of personal actors in the history;—the

works of the church fathers for the first six centuries, of the scholastic and mystic divines for the middle age, and of the reformers and their opponents for the sixteenth century. These documents are the richest mines for the historian. They give history in its birth and actual movement. But they must be carefully sifted and weighed; especially the controversial writings, where fact is generally more or less adulterated with party spirit, heretical and orthodox.

(c) Accounts of historians, whether friends or enemies, who were eye-witnesses of what they relate. The value of these depends, of course, on the capacity and credibility of the authors, to be determined by careful criticism. Subsequent historians can be counted among the direct and immediate sources, only so far as they have drawn from reliable and contemporary documents, which have either been wholly or partially lost, like many of Eusebius' authorities for the period before Constantine, or are inaccessible to historians generally, as are the papal *regesta* and other documents of the Vatican library.

(d) Inscriptions, especially those on tombs and catacombs, revealing the faith and hope of Christians in times of persecution.

II. The unwritten sources are far less numerous; church edifices, works of sculpture and painting, and other monuments, very important for the history of worship and ecclesiastical art, and significant of the religious spirit of their age. The Gothic cathedrals, for example, are a most instructive embodiment of mediæval catholicism.

§ 4. *Duty of the Historian.*

The first duty of the historian, which comprehends all others, is fidelity, the reproduction of the history itself, making it live again in his representation. His highest and only aim should be to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

To be thus faithful he needs a threefold qualification, scientific, artistic, and religious.

1. He must master the sources. For this purpose he must be

acquainted with such auxiliary sciences as ecclesiastical philology (especially the Greek and Latin languages, in which most of the earlier documents are written), secular history, geography, and chronology. Then in making use of the sources, he must thoroughly and impartially examine their genuineness and integrity, and the credibility and capacity of the witnesses. Thus only can he duly separate fact from fiction, truth from error.

2. Then comes the composition. This is an art, subject to æsthetic laws. It must not simply recount events, but reproduce the development of the church in living process. History is not a heap of dry bones, but an organism filled and ruled by a reasonable soul.

One of the greatest difficulties here lies in arranging the material. The best method in general is, no doubt, to combine judiciously the chronological and topical principles of division; presenting at once the succession of events and the several parallel (and indeed interwoven) departments of the history in due proportion. Accordingly, we first divide the whole history into periods, not arbitrary, but furnished by the actual course of events; and then present each of these periods in as many parallel sections or chapters as the material itself suggests. As to the number of the periods and chapters, and as to the arrangement of the chapters, there are indeed conflicting opinions, and in the application of our principle, as indeed in our whole representation, we can only make approaches to perfection. But the principle itself is nevertheless the only true one.

The ancient classical historians, and most of the English and French, generally present their subject in one homogeneous composition of successive books or chapters, without rubrical division. This method might seem to bring out better the living unity and variety of the history at every point. Yet it really does not. Language, unlike the pencil and the chisel, can exhibit only the succession in time, not the local concomitance. And then this method, rigidly pursued, never gives a complete view of any one subject, of doctrine, worship, or practical life. It constantly mixes the various topics, breaking off from one to bring

up another, even by the most sudden transitions, till the alternation is exhausted. The German method of periodical and rubrical arrangement has certainly great practical advantages for the student in bringing to view the order of subjects, as well as the order of time. But it should not be made a uniform and monotonous mechanism, as is done in the Magdeburg Centuries and many subsequent works. For while history has its order, both of subject and of time, it is yet, like all life, full of variety. The period of the reformation requires a very different arrangement from the middle age. And in modern history the rubrical division must be combined with and made subject to a division by confessions and countries, as the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed churches in Germany, France, England, and America.

The best method, then, is that which reproduces both the unity and the variety of history, presenting the different topics in their separate completeness, without overlooking their organic connexion. Only the scheme must not be arbitrarily made, and then pedantically applied, as a Procrustean framework, to the history; but deduced from the history itself, and varied as the facts require.

3. But both scientific research and artistic representation must be guided by a sound moral and religious spirit.

The historian must first lay aside all prejudice and party zeal, and proceed in the pure love of truth. Not that he must become a *tabula rasa*. No man is able, or should attempt, to cast off all the educational influences which have made him what he is. But the historian of the church of Christ must in every thing be as true as possible to the objective fact, *sine ira et studio*; do justice to every person and event; and stand in the centre of Christianity, whence he may see all points in the circumference, all individual persons and events, all confessions, denominations, and sects, in their true relations to each other and to the glorious whole.

Then he must be in thorough sympathy with his subject, and enthusiastically devoted thereto. As no one can interpret a poet without poetic feeling and taste, or a philosopher without speculative talent; so no one can rightly comprehend and exhibit

the history of Christianity without a Christian spirit. An unbeliever could produce only a repulsive caricature, or at best a lifeless statue. The higher the historian stands on Christian ground, the larger is his horizon, and the more full and clear his view of single regions below, and of their mutual bearings. Even error can be fairly seen only from the position of truth. "Verum est index sui et falsi." Christianity is the absolute truth, which, like the sun, both reveals itself and enlightens all that is dark.

So far as the historian combines these three qualifications, he fulfils his office. In this life we can, of course, only approach perfection in this or in any other branch of study. Absolute success would require infallibility; and this is denied to mortal man. The full solution of the mysteries of history is reserved for that heavenly state, when we shall see no longer through a glass darkly, but face to face, and shall survey the developments of time from the heights of eternity. What St. Augustine so aptly says of the mutual relation of the Old and New Testament, "*Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet*," may be applied also to the relation of this world and the world to come. The history of the church militant is, throughout, but a type and a prophecy of the triumphant kingdom of God in heaven—a prophecy which can be perfectly understood only in the glory of its fulfilment.

§ 5. *Division of Church History.*

The purely chronological or annalistic method, though pursued by the learned Baronius and his continuators, is now generally abandoned. It breaks the natural flow of events, separates things which belong together, and degrades history to a mere chronicle.

The centurial plan, which prevailed from Flacius to Mosheim, is certainly an improvement. It allows a much better view of the progress and connexion of things. But it still imposes on the history a forced and mechanical arrangement; for the salient points or epochs very seldom coincide with the limits of

our centuries. The rise of Constantine, for example, together with the union of church and state, dates from the year 311. that of the absolute papacy, in Hildebrand, from 1049; the reformation from 1517; the peace of Westphalia took place in 1648; the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England in 1620; the American emancipation in 1776; the French revolution in 1789.

The true division must grow out of the actual course of the history itself, and present the different phases of its development or stages of its life. These we call periods or ages. In regard to their number and extent there is, indeed, no unanimity; the less, on account of the various denominational differences establishing different points of view, especially since the sixteenth century. The reformation, for instance, has less importance for the Roman church than for the Protestant, and almost none for the Greek; and while the edict of Nantes forms a resting-place in the history of French Protestantism, and the treaty of Westphalia in that of German, neither of these events had anything to do with English Protestantism, compared with the accession of Elizabeth, the rise of Cromwell, the restoration of the Stuarts, or the revolution of 1688. But, in spite of all confusion and difficulty in regard to details, it is generally agreed to divide the history of the church into three principal parts, ancient, mediæval, and modern; though there is not a like agreement as to the dividing epochs, or points of departure and points of termination.

1. The history of the ancient church, from the birth of Christ to Gregory the Great (A.D. 1-590), is the age of the Græco-Latin primitive Christianity, or of the church fathers. Its field is the countries around the Mediterranean; western Asia, northern Africa, and southern Europe—just the theatre of the old Roman empire and of classic heathendom. This age lays the foundation, in doctrine, government, and worship, for all the subsequent history. It is the common progenitor of all the various confessions.

Among these first six centuries, the first century, or the

apostolic period, the regulative and authoritative groundwork of the whole church, requires to be treated by itself.

Then, at the beginning of the fourth century, the accession of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, marks a most important turn; Christianity rising from a persecuted sect to the prevailing religion of the Græco-Roman empire. In the history of doctrines, the first ecumenical council of Nice, falling in the midst of Constantine's reign, A.D. 325, has the prominence of an epoch.

Here, then, are three periods within the first or patristic age.

2. The middle age is variously reckoned—from Constantine, 306 or 311; from the fall of the West Roman empire, 476; from Gregory the Great, 590; from Charlemagne, 800. But it is very generally regarded as closing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and more precisely, at the outbreak of the reformation in 1517. Gregory the Great seems to us to form the most proper ecclesiastical point of division. With him, the author of the Anglo-Saxon mission, the last of the church fathers, and the first of the proper popes, begins in earnest, and with decisive success, the conversion of the Germanic tribes, and, at the same time, the development of absolute papacy and the alienation of the eastern and western churches. This suggests the distinctive character of this middle age, the transition of the church from Asia and Africa to middle and western Europe, from the Græco-Roman nationality to that of the Romanic and Germanic tribes, and from the culture of the ancient classic world to the modern civilization of Germanic Christendom. The great work of the church then was the conversion and education of the heathen barbarians, who conquered and demolished the Roman empire, indeed, but were themselves conquered and transformed by its Christianity. This work was performed mainly by the Latin church, under a firm hierarchical constitution, culminating in the bishop of Rome. The Greek church, though she made some conquests among the Slavic tribes of eastern Europe, particularly in the Russian empire, since grown so important, was in turn sorely pressed and reduced by Moham-

medanism in Asia and Africa, the very seat of primitive Christianity, and at last in Constantinople itself; and in doctrine, worship, and organization, she stopped at the position of the ecumenical councils and the patriarchal constitution of the fifth century.

In the middle age, where the development of the hierarchy occupies the foreground, three popes stand out as representatives of as many epochs. Gregory I., or the Great (590), marks the rise of absolute papacy; Gregory VII., or Hildebrand (1049), its summit; and Boniface VIII. (1294), its decline. Here we thus have again three periods in mediæval church history.

3. Modern church history, from the reformation of the sixteenth century to the present time, moves chiefly among the Germanic nations of middle and western Europe, and from the seventeenth century finds a vast new theatre in North America. Western Christendom now splits into two hostile parts—one holding on the old path, the other striking out a new one; while the eastern church withdraws still further from the stage of history, and presents a scene of almost undisturbed stagnation. Modern church history is the age of Protestantism in conflict with Romanism, of religious liberty and independence in conflict with the principle of authority and tutelage, of individual and personal Christianity against an objective church system.

Here again two or three different periods appear, which may be denoted briefly by the terms reformation, revolution, and restoration.

The sixteenth century, next to the apostolic age the most fruitful and interesting period of church history, is the century of the Protestant renovation of the church, and the Roman counter-reform.

The seventeenth century is the period of scholastic orthodoxy, polemic confessionalism, and comparative stagnation. The reformatory motion ceases on the continent, but goes on in the mighty Puritanic struggle in England, which extends even into the primitive forests of the American colonies. Then comes the Pietistic and Methodistic reaction against dead orthodoxy and

stiff formalism. In the Roman church Jesuitism prevails, but opposed by the half-evangelical Jansenism.

In the second half of the eighteenth century begins the vast overturning of traditional ideas and institutions, leading to revolution in state and infidelity in church, especially in France and Germany.

The nineteenth century presents, in part, the further development of these negative and destructive tendencies, but with it also the revival of Christian faith and church life, and the beginnings of a new creation by the everlasting gospel. At the same time North America, full of vigor and promise, English and Protestant in its prevailing character, but presenting an asylum for all the nations, churches, and sects of the old world, with a complete separation of the temporal and the spiritual power, comes upon the stage.

Thus we have, in all, nine periods of church history, as follows:—

FIRST PERIOD: The apostolic church. A.D. 1–100.

SECOND PERIOD: The church persecuted as a sect; to Constantine, the first Christian emperor. A.D. 100–311.

THIRD PERIOD: The church in union with the Græco-Roman empire and amidst the storms of the great migration; to pope Gregory I. A.D. 311–590.

FOURTH PERIOD: The church planted among the Germanic nations; to Hildebrand. A.D. 590–1049.

FIFTH PERIOD: The church under the papal hierarchy and the scholastic theology; to Boniface VIII. A.D. 1049–1294.

SIXTH PERIOD: The decay of mediæval Catholicism, and the preparatory movements of Protestantism. A.D. 1294–1517.

SEVENTH PERIOD: The evangelical reformation and the Roman Catholic reaction. A.D. 1517–1600.

EIGHTH PERIOD: The age of polemic orthodoxy and exclusive confessionalism. A.D. 1600–1750.

NINTH PERIOD: The spread of infidelity, and the revival of Christianity in Europe and America. From 1750 to the present time.

§ 6. *Uses of Church History.*

Church history is the most extensive, and, including the sacred history of the Old and New Testaments, the most important branch of theology.

It has, in the first place, a general interest for every cultivated mind, as showing the moral and religious development of our race, and the gradual execution of the divine plan of redemption.

It has special value for the theologian and minister of the gospel, as the key to the present condition of Christendom and the guide to successful labor in her cause. The present is the fruit of the past and the germ of the future. No work can stand unless it grow out of the real wants of the age and strike firm root in the soil of history. No one who tramples on the rights of a past generation, can claim the regard of its posterity.

Finally, the history of the church has practical value for every Christian, as a storehouse of warning and encouragement, of consolation and of counsel. It is the philosophy of facts, Christianity in living examples. If history in general be, as Cicero describes it, "*testis temporum, lux veritatis, et magistra vitæ*," or, as Diodorus calls it, "a handmaid of providence, a priestess of truth, and a mother of wisdom," the history of the kingdom of heaven is all these in the highest degree. Next to the holy scriptures, which are themselves, in fact, a history and depository of divine revelation, there is no stronger proof of the continual presence of Christ with his people, no more thorough vindication of Christianity, no richer source of spiritual wisdom and experience, no deeper incentive to virtue and piety, than the history of the church.

§ 7. *Literature of Church History.*

STÄUDLIN: *Geschichte u. Literatur der K.* G. Hann. 1827. F. C. BAUR: *Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung.* Tüb. 1852. P. SCHAFF: *H. Apost. Church*, p. 51-134.

Like every other science and art, church historiography has a history, a gradual progress towards its true perfection. This history exhibits not only a continual growth of material, but also a

gradual, though sometimes long interrupted, improvement of method, from the mere collection of names and dates in a Christian chronicle, to critical research and discrimination, pragmatic reference to causes and motives, scientific command of material, philosophical generalization, and artistic reproduction of the actual history itself. In this progress also are marked the various confessional and denominational phases of Christianity, giving different points of view, and consequently different conceptions and representations of the several periods and divisions of Christendom; so that the development of the church itself is mirrored in the development of church historiography.

We can here do no more than mention the leading works which mark the successive epochs in the growth of our science:—

1. In the *apostolic* church. The first works on church history are the canonical gospels of MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, and JOHN, the inspired biographies of Jesus Christ, who is the theanthropic head and the inexhaustible fountain of the whole history of the kingdom of God. These are followed by LUKE's Acts of the Apostles, which describes the planting of the church among Jews and Gentiles from Jerusalem to Rome, by the labors of the apostles, especially Peter and Paul.

2. In the *Greek* church appear the first post-apostolic works on church history, as, indeed, all branches of theological literature there take their rise.

EUSEBIUS, bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, and contemporary with Constantine the Great, composed a church history in ten books (*ἑκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, from the incarnation of the Logos to the year 324), by which he has won the title of the Father of church history, or the Christian Herodotus. Though by no means very critical and discerning, and far inferior in literary talent and execution to the works of the great classical historians, this ante-Nicene church history is invaluable for its learning, moderation, and love of truth; for its use of sources, since totally or partially lost; and for its interesting position of personal observation between the last persecutions of the church and her establishment in the Byzantine empire.

The work of Eusebius was continued in similar spirit and on the same plan by SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, and THEODORET in the fifth century, and THEODORUS and EVAGRIUS in the sixth, each taking up the thread of the narrative where his predecessor had dropped it. Of the later Greek historians, from the seventh century to the fifteenth, the Scriptores Byzantini, as they are called, NICEPHORUS CALLISTI (about A.D. 1333) deserves special regard.

3. The *Latin* church, *before* the reformation, was, in church history, as in all other theological studies, at first wholly dependent on the Greek, and long content with mere translations and extracts from Eusebius and his continuators.

The most popular of these was the *Historia tripartita*, compiled by CASSIODORUS, who died about A.D. 562.

The middle age produced no general church history of consequence, but a host of chronicles, and histories of particular nations, monastic orders, eminent popes, bishops, missionaries, saints, &c. Though rarely worth much as compositions, these are yet of great value as material, which, however, needs to be carefully sifted.

4. The *Roman Catholic* church was roused by the shock of the reformation, in the sixteenth century, to great activity in this and other departments of theology, and produced some works of immense learning and antiquarian research, but generally characterized rather by zeal for the papacy, and against Protestantism, than by the purely historical spirit. The greatest Roman Catholic church historians are either Italians, and ultramontane in spirit, or Frenchmen, mostly on the side of the somewhat more liberal but less consistent Gallicanism.

First stands the Cardinal CÆSAR BARONIUS († 1607), with his *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rom. 1588 sqq.) in twelve folio volumes, on which he spent thirty years of unwearied study. They come down only to the year 1198, but are continued, though with much less ability, by Raynaldus, Bzovius, Spondanus, and others (complete edition of Lucca in thirty-eight volumes folio), to near the middle of the seventeenth century; quite recently

Theiner has resumed the continuation. This colossal work stands wholly on the ground of absolute ultramontane papacy, and is designed as a positive refutation of the Magdeburg Centuries, which, however, it does not condescend directly to notice. But it was severely criticized, and in part refuted, not only by such Protestants as Casaubonus, Spanheim, and Samuel Basnage, but by Catholic scholars also, especially Pagi. Still with all its defects it remains invaluable to the historian, for its use of the many rare and hardly accessible sources in the Vatican library and other archives.

NATALIS ALEXANDER (†1724) wrote his *Historia ecclesiastica Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Paris, 1699 sqq., 8 vols. fol.) in the spirit of Gallicanism, learnedly, but in dry scholastic style.

The abbot CLAUDE FLEURY (†1723), in his *Histoire ecclésiastique* (Par. 1691 sqq., 20 vols., down to A.D. 1414, continued by Fabre), furnished a much more popular work, commended by mildness of spirit and fluency of style, and as useful for edification as for instruction.

JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET, the distinguished bishop of Meaux (†1704), an advocate of Romanism on the one hand against Protestantism, but of Gallicanism on the other against Ultramontanism, wrote in brilliant, eloquent style, and in the spirit of the Catholic church, a universal history: *Discours sur l'histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à l'empire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1681). This was continued in the German language by the Protestant Cramer, with less elegance but more thoroughness, and with special reference to the doctrine history of the middle age.

TILLEMONT (†1698), who sympathized at least partially with Jansenism and Gallicanism, composed a history of the patristic age with great skill and conscientiousness, almost entirely in the words of the original authorities: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premières siècles justifiés par les citations des auteurs originaux* (16 vols. Paris, 1693 sqq.); by far the most learned and the most useful of all the French church historians.

CASPAR SACHARELLI: *Historia ecclesiastica*, Rom. 1772-95. 25 vols. to A.D. 1185.

The German poet, LEOPOLD VON STOLBERG († 1819), with the enthusiasm of an honest, noble, and devout, but credulous and uncritical convert, began a very full *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi* (Hamburg, 1806 sqq.), which he brought down in fifteen volumes to the year 430. The continuations by Kertz (vols. 16-32, to A.D. 1300), and Brischar (vols. 33 sqq.) are quite inferior.

ROHRBACHER'S *Histoire universelle de l'église* (Par. 1842-48, vols. 29) is the last great French work in this department. It avails itself of German investigations, but it is more strictly Roman than its Gallican predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The best Roman Catholic manuals of church history are those of DÖLLINGER, RITTER, and ALZOG.

5. The *Protestant* church historians.

The reformation of the sixteenth century is the mother of church history as a science and art in the proper sense of the term. It seemed at first to break off from the past, to depreciate church history, by going back directly to the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, and especially to look most unfavorably on the Catholic middle age, as a progressive corruption of the apostolic doctrine and discipline. But on the other hand it exalted primitive Christianity, and awakened a new and enthusiastic interest in all the documents of the apostolic church, with an energetic effort to reproduce its spirit and institutions. It really repudiated only the later tradition in favor of the older, taking its stand upon the primitive historical basis of Christianity. Then again, in the course of controversy with Rome, Protestantism found it desirable and necessary to wrest from its opponent not only the scriptural argument, but also the historical, and to turn it as far as possible to the side of the evangelical cause. For the Protestants could never deny that the true church of Christ is built on a rock, and has the promise of indestructible permanence. Finally, the reformation,

liberating the mind from the yoke of a despotic ecclesiastical authority, gave an entirely new impulse, directly or indirectly, to free investigation in every department, and produced that historical criticism, which claims to clear fact from the accretions of fiction, and to bring out the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, of history. Of course this criticism may run to the extreme of rationalism and scepticism, which oppose the authority of the apostles and of Christ himself; as it actually did for a time, especially in Germany. But the abuse of free investigation proves nothing against the right use of it; and is to be regarded only as a temporary aberration, from which all sound minds will return to a due appreciation of history, as a truly rational unfolding of the plan of redemption, and a standing witness for the all-ruling providence of God, and the divine character of the Christian religion.

Protestant church historiography has thus far flourished most on German soil. The following are the principal works:

MATTHIAS FLACIUS († 1575), surnamed Illyricus, a zealous Lutheran, and an unsparing enemy of Papists, Calvinists, and Melancthonians, heads the list of Protestant historians with his great *Ecclesiastica historia Novi Testamenti*, commonly called *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses* (Basle, 1559–74), covering thirteen centuries of the Christian era in as many folio volumes. He began the work in Magdeburg, in connexion with ten other scholars of like spirit and zeal, and in the face of innumerable difficulties, for the purpose of exposing the corruption and errors of the papacy, and of proving the doctrines of the Lutheran reformation orthodox by the “witnesses of the truth” in all ages. The tone is therefore controversial throughout, and quite as partial as the *Annals* of Baronius on the papal side. The style is tasteless and repulsive, but the amount of persevering labor, the immense, though ill-digested and unwieldy mass of material, and the boldness of the criticism, are imposing and astonishing. The “Centuries” broke the path of free historical study, and are the first church history deserving of the name. They introduced also a new method. They divide the material by centuries, and each

century by a uniform Procrustean scheme of not less than sixteen rubrics: de loco et propagatione ecclesiae; de persecutione et tranquillitate ecclesiae; de doctrina; de haeresibus; de ceremoniis; de politia; de schismatibus; de conciliis; de vitis episcoporum; de haereticis; de martyribus; de miraculis et prodigiis de rebus Judaicis; de aliis religionibus; de mutationibus politicis. This plan destroys all symmetry, and occasions wearisome diffuseness and repetition. Yet, in spite of its mechanical uniformity and stiffness, it is more scientific than the annalistic or chronicle method, and, with material improvements and considerable curtailment of rubrics, it has been followed to this day.

The Swiss, J. H. HOTTINGER († 1667), in his *Historia ecclesiastica N. Testamenti* (Zurich, 1655–67, 9 vols. fol.), furnished a Reformed counterpart to the Magdeburg Centuries. It is less original and vigorous, but more sober and moderate. It comes down to the sixteenth century, to which alone five volumes are devoted.

The Hollander, FRED. SPANHEIM'S († 1649) *Summa historiae ecclesiasticae* (Lugd. Bat. 1689), coming down to the sixteenth century, is based on a thorough and critical knowledge of the sources, and serves at the same time as a refutation of Baronius.

A new path was broken by GOTTFRIED ARNOLD († 1714), in his *Unpartheiische Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte* (Frankfurt, 1699 sqq., 4 vols. fol.) to A.D. 1688. He is the historian of the pietistic and mystic school. He made subjective piety the test of the true faith, and the persecuted sects the main channel of true Christianity; while the reigning church from Constantine down, and indeed not the Catholic church only, but the orthodox Lutheran with it, he represented as a progressive apostasy, a Babylon full of corruption and abomination. In this way he boldly and effectually broke down the walls of ecclesiastical exclusiveness and bigotry; but at the same time, without intending or suspecting it, he opened the way to a rationalistic and sceptical treatment of history. While, in his zeal for impartiality and personal piety, he endeavored to do justice to all possible heretics and sectaries, he did great injustice to the supporters of orthodoxy and eccle

siastical order. Arnold was also the first to use the German language instead of the Latin in learned history; but his style is terribly insipid.

J. L. MOSHEIM (†1755), Chancellor of Göttingen, a moderate and impartial Lutheran, is the father of church historiography as an *art*, unless we prefer to concede this merit to Bossuet. In skilful construction, clear, though mechanical and monotonous arrangement, critical sagacity, pragmatic combination, freedom from passion, almost bordering on cool indifferentism, and in easy elegance of Latin style, he surpasses all his predecessors. His well known *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris* (Helmstädt, 1755) follows the centurial plan of Flacius, but in simpler form, and, as translated by Maclaine, and Murdock, remains to this day the principal text-book of church history in England and America.

J. M. SCHRÖCKH (†1808), a pupil of Mosheim, but already touched with the neological spirit which Semler (†1791) introduced into the historical theology of Germany, wrote with unwearied industry the largest Protestant church history after the Magdeburg Centuries. His *Christliche Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1768–1810) comprises forty-five volumes (the last two by Tzschirner), coming down to the end of the eighteenth century. This work, written in diffuse but clear and easy style, with reliable knowledge of sources, and in a mild, impartial spirit, is still a rich storehouse of historical matter. It forsakes the centurial plan and adopts the periodic.

The very learned *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae V. et N. Testamenti* of the Dutch Reformed divine H. VENEMA (†1787), contain the history of the Jewish and Christian Church down to the end of the sixteenth century (Lugd. Bat. 1777–83, in seven parts).

H. P. C. HENKE (†1809) is the leading representative of the rationalistic church historiography. In his spirited and clever *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, continued by Vater (Braunschweig, 1788–1820, 9 vols.) the church appears not as the temple of God on earth, but as a great infirmary and bedlam.

A. NEANDER († 1850), the “father of modern church history,” a child in spirit, a man in intellect, a giant in learning, and a saint in piety, led back the study of history from the dry heath of rationalism to the fresh fountain of divine life in Christ and his people, and made it a grand source of edification for readers of every confession and denomination. His *Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche* (Hamburg, 1825–52, 11 parts, to the council of Basil, 1430), and numerous monographs, are distinguished by thorough and conscientious use of the sources, ingenious combination, tender love of truth and righteousness, all-embracing liberality, hearty evangelical piety in living union with scientific thought, and by masterly analysis of the doctrinal systems and the subjective Christian life of men of God in past ages. The æsthetic and artistic part, and the political machinery of church history were less congenial to the humble, guileless simplicity of the author, and are therefore not treated by him to the satisfaction of the advanced student. His style is monotonous, involved, and diffuse, but unpretending, natural, and warmed by a genial glow of feeling. Torrey’s excellent translation (Rose translated only the first three centuries), published in Boston, Edinburgh, and London, in multiplied editions, has given Neander’s immortal work even a larger circulation in England and America than it has in Germany itself.

From J. C. L. GIESELER († 1854), a profoundly learned, acute, calm, impartial, conscientious, but cold and dry historian, we have a *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (Bonn, 1824–1856), in several volumes, completed posthumously from his manuscripts; likewise translated into English, first by Cunningham, in Philadelphia, 1846, then by Davidson and Hull, in England, and now carefully revised and edited by H. B. Smith,¹ in New York (1857 sqq.). He takes Tillemont’s method of giving the history in the very words of the sources; only he does not form the

¹ The author of the best tabular view of church history, which may be profitably used in connexion with Gieseler: *History of the Christian Church in Tabular Form; in 15 Tables. Presenting in parallel columns a Synopsis of the external and internal History of the Church from the B. of Chr. to 1858*. N. York, 1859.

text from them, but throws them into notes. The chief excellence of this invaluable and indispensable work is its very carefully selected and critically elucidated extracts from the original authorities. The skeleton-like text presents, indeed, the leading facts clearly and concisely, but does not reach the inward life and spiritual marrow of the church of Christ.

Neander and Gieseler matured their works in respectful and friendly rivalry, during the same period of thirty years of slow, but solid and steady growth, without being permitted to finish them. The former is perfectly subjective, and reproduces the original sources in a continuous warm and sympathetic composition, which reflects at the same time the author's own mind and heart; the latter is purely objective, and speaks with the indifference of an outside spectator, through the *ipsissima verba* of the same sources, arranged as notes, and strung together simply by a slender thread of narrative. The one gives the history ready-made, and full of life and instruction; the other furnishes the material and leaves the reader to animate and improve it for himself. With the one, the text is everything; with the other, the notes. But both admirably complete each other, and exhibit together the ripest fruit of German scholarship in general church history in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Besides these larger works, Protestant Germany has furnished since 1830, a great number of smaller manuals and compends of church history, of which the most valuable and popular are those of NIEDNER (1846), HASE (7th ed. 1854; the same in English, by Wing & Blumenthal, New York, 1855), GUERICKE (8th ed. 1858; the 1st vol. translated or rather transfused into English by Shedd, Andover, 1857), LINDNER (1848), JACOBI (1850), FRICKE (1850), KURTZ (3rd ed. 1853 sqq.). It would be impossible here to mention the countless monographs which appeared during the same period, partly from the school of Neander, partly from the more recent one of the equally learned and talented, but sceptical Baur, of Tübingen, partly from the newly revived school of orthodox confessionalism.

Among modern English church historians, we may name

MILNER († 1797), whose work, continued by Stebbing, agrees most in its spirit with that of Arnold; less learned and original, but far more readable, popular, and edifying; WADDINGTON, who gives us the ancient and mediæval church in three volumes, and the continental reformation in three more (1835 ff.) FOULKES, the author of a Manual of Ecclesiastical History, from the first to the twelfth century (1851); ROBERTSON, whose history embraces thus far in two volumes (1854 and '56) the first six centuries, and the middle age, till 1122; MILMAN, who wrote a history of ancient Christianity (1840), and of Latin Christianity to the pontificate of Nicholas V. (1854 sq. in 6 vols.); and HARDWICK, from whom we have a Manual on the middle age (1853), and another on the Reformation (1856), to be followed by a third volume on the first six centuries, and a fourth one on the period since the Reformation. Each one of these works has its peculiar merit; but none of them can be ranked, either as to original research, or art of composition, or general interest, with the immortal masterpieces of English literature on the history of Rome, Greece, and Great Britain.

America is as yet more engaged in making history, than in writing it. Nevertheless it has already cultivated several congenial portions of secular history, especially that of Spain, Holland, and the United States, with eminent talent and success. It has also furnished recently the best translations of the German standard works on church history, and thus seriously commenced to direct its youthful energies to the holy of holies in the history of mankind. This justifies the expectation of original works which in due time shall review and reproduce the entire course of Christ's kingdom in the old world with the faith and freedom of the new.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE

CHURCH UNDER THE APOSTLES:

FROM THE

BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE DEATH OF ST. JOHN.

A. D. 1—100.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH:

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE DEATH OF ST. JOHN,
A.D. 1-100.

SOURCES.

The canonical books of the New Testament. The writings of the early church. Also some passages of Josephus, the Talmud, and heathen authors. (Comp. N. LARDNER: *Collection of the Jewish and Heathen Testimonies of the Christian Religion*. Lond. 1764 sqq. 4 vols.)

LITERATURE.

F. BUDDEUS: *Ecclesia apostolica*. Jen. 1729. CAVE: *Lives of the Apostles* 1684 (new ed. Lond. 1841; also New York, 1857). BENSON: *History of the Planting of the Christian Religion*. Lond. 1756 (in German by Bamberger, Halle, 1768). J. J. HESS: *Geschichte der Apostel Jesu*. Zür. 1788 (4th ed. 1820). NEANDER: *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Kirche durch die Apostel*. Hamb. 1832. 2 vols. (4th ed. 1847). The same in English by Ryland, Edinb.; reprinted in Philad. 1844. H. THIERSCH: *Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*. Frankf. 1852. The same in English by Th. Carlyle. Lond. 1852. J. P. LANGE: *Das apostolische Zeitalter*. Braunsch. 1854. 2 vols. P. SCHAFF: *Geschichte der apostolischen Kirche* (Mercersb. 1851), 2nd ed. Leipz. 1854. The same in English by Yeomans, N. York, 1853, and Edinb. 1854; also in Dutch by Lublink Weddik, 1857. LECHLER: *Das apostolische und nachapostolische Zeitalter*. 2nd ed. Stuttg. 1857.

Comp. also the critical works on the Acts of Luke, by *Schneckenburger*, 1841, *Zeller*, 1854, and *Lekebusch*, 1854; and the commentaries on the Acts, by *Baumgarten*, Halle, 1852, 2 vols., (also in English, Edinb. 1856, 3 vols.), *Jos. Add. Alexander*, N. York, 1857, 2 vols., and *H. B. Hackett*, 2nd ed. Bost. 1858.

On the chronology of the Apostolic age comp. ANGER: *De temporum in Actis Apostol. ratione*. Lips. 1833. WIESELER: *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*. Gött. 1848.

§ 8. *General Character of the Apostolic Period.*

THE apostolic period, including the life of Jesus, is the fountain-

head of the history of the Christian church. Here springs, in its original freshness and purity, the living water of the new creation. Christianity comes down from heaven as a supernatural fact, yet long predicted and prepared for, and adapted to the deepest wants of human nature. Signs and wonders and extraordinary demonstrations of the Spirit, for the conversion of unbelieving Jews and heathens, attend its entrance into the world of sin. It takes up its permanent abode with our fallen race, to transform it gradually, without war or bloodshed, by a quiet, leaven-like process, into a glorious kingdom of truth and righteousness. Modest and humble, lowly and unseemly in outward appearance, but steadily conscious of its divine origin and its eternal destiny; without silver or gold, but strong in faith, fervent in love, and joyful in hope, full of supernatural gifts and powers; bearing in earthen vessels the imperishable treasures of heaven, it presents itself upon the stage of history as the only true, the perfect religion, for all the nations of the earth. At first an insignificant and even contemptible sect in the eyes of the carnal mind, hated and persecuted by Jews and heathens, it confounds the wisdom of Greece and the power of Rome, soon plants the standard of the cross in the great cities of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and proves itself the hope of the world.

In virtue of this original purity, vigor, and beauty, and the amazing success of primitive Christianity, the canonical authority of the single but inexhaustible volume of its literature, and the infallibility of the apostles, those inspired organs of the Holy Ghost, those untaught teachers of mankind, the apostolic age has an incomparable interest and importance in the history of the church. It is the immovable groundwork of the whole. It has the same regulative force for all the subsequent developments of the church as the inspired writings of the apostles have for the works of all later Christian authors.

Furthermore, the apostolic Christianity is preformative, containing the living germs of all the following periods, personages, and tendencies. The whole history of the church, past and future, is only the progressive analysis and application of prin-

ciples and prototypes given in the New Testament; especially of the three leading representatives of the primitive age, Peter, Paul, and John.

These apostles mark also the three principal steps in the missionary and doctrinal history of the first period. Peter represents Jewish Christianity; Paul, Gentile Christianity; John, the union of the two.

But to see clearly the relation of the Christian religion to the preceding history of mankind, and to appreciate its vast influence, we must first glance at the preparation which existed in the moral and religious condition of the world for the incarnation of the Son of God

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH AND HEATHEN WORLD.

MOSHEIM: Historical Commentaries on the State of Christianity in the first three centuries, 1753, transl. by Vidal and Murdock, vol. i. ch. 1 and 2 (p. 9-82). NEANDER: Allg. Gesch. der christl. Rel. und K. vol. i. 1842. Einl. (p. 1-116). SCHAFF: Hist. of the Apostolic Ch., p. 137-188 (Engl. trsl.). J. P. LANGE: Das Apost. Zeitalter. 1853, I. p. 224-318. DÖLLINGER (R. C.): Heidenthum und Judenthum. Vorhalle zur Geschichte des Christenthums. Regensb. 1857.

§ 9. *Central Position of Christ in the History of the World.*

As religion is the deepest and holiest concern of man, the entrance of the Christian religion into history is the most momentous of all events. It is the end of the old world and the beginning of the new. It was a great idea of Dionysius "the Little," to date our era from the birth of the Saviour. Jesus Christ, the God-man, the prophet, priest, and king of mankind, is, in fact, the centre and turning-point not only of chronology, but of all history, and the key to all its mysteries. Around him, as the sun of the moral universe, revolve at their several distances, all nations and all really important events, especially in the religious life of the world; and all must, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, contribute to glorify his name and advance his cause. All history before his birth must be viewed as a preparation for his coming, and all history after his birth as a gradual diffusion of his Spirit and establishment of his kingdom. "All things were created by him, and for him."¹ He is "the desire of all nations."² He appeared in the

¹ Col. i. 16.

² Hag. ii. 7.

“fulness of time,”¹ when the process of preparation was finished, and the world’s need of redemption fully disclosed.

This preparation for Christianity began properly with the very creation of man, who was made in the image of God, and destined for communion with him through the eternal Son; with those common primordial revelations, which were made even to the antediluvian fathers, and of which some vague memories survive in the heathen religions.

With Abraham, some two thousand years before the birth of Christ, the religious development of humanity separates into the two independent, and, in their compass, very unequal branches of Judaism and heathenism. These meet and unite at last in Christ as the common Saviour, the fulfiller of all the types and prophecies, desires and hopes of the ancient world, while at the same time all the ungodly elements of both league in deadly hostility against him, and thus draw forth the full revelation of his all-conquering power of truth and love.

As Christianity is the reconciliation and union of God and man in and through Jesus Christ, the God-man and Saviour, it must have been preceded by a twofold process of preparation, an approach of God to man, and an approach of man to God. In Judaism the preparation is direct and positive, proceeding from above downwards, and ending with the birth of the Messiah. In heathenism it is indirect and mainly, though not entirely, negative, proceeding from below upwards, and ending with a helpless cry of mankind for redemption. There we have a special revelation or self-communication of the only true God by word and deed, ever growing clearer and plainer, till at last the divine nature appears in the human, to raise it to communion with itself; here man, guided indeed by the general providence of God, and lighted by the glimmer of the Logos shining in the darkness,² yet unaided by direct revelation, and left to his own ways,³ “if haply he might feel after the Lord and find him.”⁴ In Judaism the true religion is prepared for man; in heathenism

Mark i. 15, Gal. iv. 4.

² John i. 5.

³ Acts xiv. 16.

⁴ Acts xvii 26, 27

man is prepared for the true religion. There the divine substance is begotten; here the human forms are moulded to receive it. The former is like the elder son in the parable, who abode in his father's house; the latter, like the prodigal, who squandered his portion, yet at last shuddered before the gaping abyss of perdition, and penitently returned to the bosom of his father's compassionate love.¹ Heathenism is the starry night, full of darkness and fear, but of mysterious presage also, and of anxious waiting for the light of day; Judaism, the dawn, full of the fresh hope and promise of the rising sun; both lose themselves in the sunlight of Christianity, and attest its claim to be the only true and the perfect religion for mankind.

This process of preparation for redemption in the history of the world, the groping of heathenism after the "unknown God"² and inward peace, and the legal struggle and comforting hope of Judaism, repeat themselves substantially in every individual believer; for every man is made for Christ, and his heart is restless, till it rests in him.

§ 10. *Judaism.*

- I. The canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. The Jewish Apocrypha. The writings of the Jewish historian JOSEPHUS, and the Alexandrian, PHILO, and the Talmud.—Of service to illustrate and confirm the Jewish history before Christ are also heathen remains, especially the monuments of ancient Egypt, better known since the French expedition, and elucidated by the researches of Champollion, Rosellini, Wilkinson, Taylor, Lepsius, Bunsen, Seyffarth, and others; and the very remarkable monuments from Assyria, discovered by the excavations of Botta and Layard, and transported to Paris and London. The fragments of Phœnician and Chaldaic writers, on the contrary, yield little information; and the occasional accounts of the later Greek and Roman authors concerning the Jews are full of error and bitter prejudice.
- II. PRIDEAUX: *Old and New Testaments Connected in the History of the Jews and neighboring nations, from the decline of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ.* Lond. 1715, 2 vols. (1858 and many other eds.). The same in French and German. HESS: *Geschichte der Israeliten vor den Zeiten Jesu.* Zür. 1766 sqq. 12 vols. WARBURTON: *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated.* 6 vols. Lond. 1788; best

¹ Luke xv. 11-32.

² Acts xvii 22

edit. by *Rich. Hurd*, in 3 vols. Lond. 1856. JOST: *Allgem. Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes bis in die neueste Zeit*. Berl. 1832. 2 vols. MILMAN: *History of the Jews*. Lond. 1829. 3 vols. republ. N. York, 1831. 3 vols. J. C. K. HOFMANN: *Weissagung und Erfüllung*. Nordl. 1841. 2 vols. H. EWALD: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, Gött. 1843 sqq. 6 vols. J. H. KURTZ: *Geschichte des alten Bundes*, Berl. 1853 sqq. 2 vols. The same: *Lehrbuch der heil. Geschichte*, Königsb. 6th ed. 1853; also in English, by C. F. Schäffer. Phil. 1855. A. ALEXANDER: *A History of the Israelitish Nation from their origin to their dispersion at the destruction of Jerusalem*. Phil. 1853. E. C. WINES: *Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews*. N. York, 1855. J. M. JOST: *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*. Leipz. 1857 sq. 3 vols.

“Salvation is of the Jews.”¹ This wonderful people was chosen by sovereign grace to stand amidst the surrounding idolatry as the bearer of the knowledge of Jehovah, the only true God, of his holy law, and of his comforting promise, and thus to become the cradle of the Messiah. It arose with the calling of Abraham, and the covenant of Jehovah with him in Canaan, the land of promise; grew to a nation in Egypt, the land of bondage; was delivered and organized into a theocratic state on the basis of the law of Sinai by Moses in the wilderness; was led back into Palestine by Joshua; became, after the Judges, a monarchy, reaching the height of its glory in David and Solomon, the types of the victorious and peaceful reign of Christ; split into two hostile kingdoms, and, in punishment of internal discord and growing apostasy to idolatry, was carried captive by heathen conquerors; was restored after seventy years’ humiliation to the land of its fathers, but fell again under the yoke of heathen foes; yet in its deepest abasement fulfilled its highest mission by giving birth to the Saviour of the world.

Judaism was amongst the idolatrous nations of antiquity like an oasis in a desert, clearly defined and isolated; separated and enclosed by a rigid moral and ceremonial law. The holy land itself, though in the midst of the three grand divisions of the ancient world, and surrounded by the great nations of ancient

¹ 1 John iv. 22.

culture, was separated from them by deserts south and east, by sea on the west, and by mountain on the north; thus securing to the Mosaic religion freedom to unfold itself and to fulfil its great work without disturbing influences from abroad. But Israel carried in its bosom from the first the large promise, that in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. Abraham, the father of the faithful, Moses, the lawgiver, David, the victorious king and sacred psalmist, Isaiah, the evangelist of the prophets, and John the Baptist, the impersonation of the whole Old Testament, are the most conspicuous links in the golden chain of the ancient revelation.

The outward circumstances and the moral and religious condition of the Jews at the birth of Christ would indeed seem at first and on the whole to be in glaring contradiction with their divine destiny. But, in the first place, their very degeneracy proved the need of divine help. In the second place, the redemption through Christ appeared by contrast in the greater glory, as a creative act of God. And finally, amidst the mass of corruption, as a preventive of putrefaction, lived the succession of the true children of Abraham, longing for the salvation of Israel, and ready to embrace Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah and the Saviour of the world.

Since the battle of Philippi (B. C. 42), the Jews had been subject to the heathen Romans, who heartlessly governed them by the Idumean Herod and his sons, and afterwards by procurators. Under this hated yoke their Messianic hopes were powerfully raised, but carnally distorted. They longed chiefly for a political deliverer, who should restore the temporal dominion of David on a still more splendid scale; and they were offended with the servant form of Jesus, and with his spiritual kingdom. Their morals were outwardly far better than those of the heathen; but under the garb of strict obedience to their law, they concealed great corruption. They are pictured in the New Testament as a stiff-necked, ungrateful, and impenitent race, the seed of the serpent, a generation of vipers. Their own priest and historian, Josephus, who generally endeavored to present his coun-

trymen to the Greeks and Romans in the most favorable light, describes them as at that time a debased and ungodly people, well deserving their fearful punishment in the destruction of Jerusalem.

As to religion, the Jews, especially after the Babylonish captivity, adhered most tenaciously to the letter of the law, and to their traditions and ceremonies, but without knowing the spirit and power of the Scriptures. They cherished the most bigoted horror of the heathen, and were therefore despised and hated by them as misanthropic, though by their judgment, industry, and tact, they were able to gain wealth and consideration in all the larger cities of the Roman empire. After the time of the Maccabees (B. C. 150), they fell into three mutually hostile sects.

1. The Pharisees, the "separate,"¹ were, so to speak, the Jewish Stoics. They represented the traditional orthodoxy and stiff formalism, the legal self-righteousness and the fanatical bigotry of Judaism. In the New Testament they bear particularly the reproach of hypocrisy; with, of course, illustrious exceptions, like Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and his disciple, Paul.

2. The less numerous Sadducees² were sceptical, rationalistic, and worldly-minded, and held about the same position in Judaism as the Epicureans and the followers of the New Academy in Greek and Roman heathendom.

3. The Essenes³ were a mystic, ascetic sect, and lived in monkish seclusion on the coasts of the Dead Sea. With an arbitrary, allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, they combined some foreign theosophic elements, which they borrowed partly from the Pythagorean and the Platonic philosophies, and partly from the eastern religions.

The sect of the Essenes comes seldom or never into contact

¹ From פָּרָשׁ. They were separated from ordinary persons by the supposed correctness of their creed and the superior holiness of their life.

² So called either from their supposed founder, Zadock, or from צִדִּיק, "just."

³ From אֲסִי, "physician;" according to some, a corruption of חֲסִידִים, חֲסִיד, the "holy;" but most probably from the rabbinical חֲזָן, "watchman," "keeper;" comp. *Spaneurai*.

with Christianity under the Apostles. But the Pharisees and Sadducees, particularly the former, meet us everywhere in the Gospels as bitter enemies of Jesus, and hostile as they are to each other, unite in condemning him to that death of the cross, which ended in the glorious resurrection, and became the foundation of spiritual life to believing Gentiles as well as Jews.

§ 11. *The Law and Prophecy.*

Degenerate and corrupt though the mass of Judaism was, yet the Old Testament economy was the divine institution preparatory to the Christian redemption, and as such received deepest reverence from Christ and his apostles, while they sought by terrible rebuke to lead its unworthy representatives to repentance. It therefore could not fail of its saving effect on those hearts which yielded to its discipline, and conscientiously searched the Scriptures of Moses and the prophets.

Law and prophecy are the two great elements of the Jewish religion, and make it a direct divine introduction to Christianity, 'the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God.'

1. The law of Moses was the clearest expression of the holy will of God before the advent of Christ. It set forth the ideal of righteousness, and was thus fitted most effectually to awaken the sense of man's great departure from it, the knowledge of sin and guilt.¹ It acted as a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ² that they might be justified by faith.³

The same sense of guilt and of the need of reconciliation was constantly kept alive by daily sacrifices, at first in the tabernacle and afterwards in the temple, and by the whole ceremonial law, which, as a wonderful system of types and shadows, perpetually pointed to the realities of the new covenant, especially to the one all-sufficient atoning sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

But now God requires absolute obedience and purity of heart

¹ Rom. iii. 20: Διὰ νόμον ἐ-ὕψιστος ἁμαρτίας.

² Παύλου πρὸς Χριστιανούς.

³ Gal. iii. 24.

under promise of life and penalty of death. Yet he cannot cruelly sport with man; he is the truthful, faithful, and merciful God. In the moral and ritual law, therefore, as in a shell, is hidden the sweet kernel of a promise, that he will one day exhibit the ideal of righteousness in living form, and give the miserable sinner power to fulfil the law. Without such assurance the law were bitter irony.

As regards the law, the Jewish economy was a religion of repentance.

2. But it was at the same time, as already hinted, the vehicle of the divine promise of redemption, and, as such, a religion of hope. While the Greeks and Romans put their golden age in the past, the Jews looked for theirs in the future. Their whole history, their religious, political, and social institutions and customs pointed to the coming of the Messiah, and the establishment of his kingdom on earth.

Prophecy, or the gospel under the covenant of the law, is really older than the law, which "came in between" the promise and its fulfilment.¹ It begins with the promise of the serpent-bruise immediately after the fall. It predominates in the patriarchal age, and Moses, the lawgiver, was at the same time a prophet pointing the people to a greater successor.² Without the comfort of the Messianic promise, the law must have driven the earnest soul to despair. From the time of Samuel, some eleven centuries before Christ, prophecy, hitherto sporadic, took an organized form in a permanent prophetic office and order. In this form it accompanied the Levitical priesthood and the Davidic dynasty down to the Babylonish captivity, survived this catastrophe, and directed the return of the people and the rebuilding of the temple; interpreting and applying the law, reproofing abuses in church and state, predicting the terrible judgments and the redeeming grace of God, warning and punishing, comforting and encouraging, with an ever plainer reference to the coming Messiah, who should redeem Israel and the world from sin and

¹ Παρεσιγγεν, Rom. v. 20; comp. Gal. iii. 19.

² Deut. xviii. 15.

misery, and establish a kingdom of peace and righteousness on earth.

The victorious reign of David and the peaceful reign of Solomon furnish, for Isaiah and his successors, the historical ground for a prophetic picture of a far more glorious future, which, unless thus attached to living memories and present circumstances, could not have been understood. The subsequent catastrophe and the sufferings of the captivity served to develop the idea of a Messiah atoning for the sins of the people and entering through suffering into glory.

The prophetic was an extraordinary office, serving partly to complete, partly to correct the ordinary, hereditary priesthood, to prevent it from stiffening into monotonous formality, and keep it in living flow. The prophets were, so to speak, the Protestants of the ancient covenant, the ministers of the spirit and of immediate communion with God, in distinction from the ministers of the letter and of traditional and ceremonial mediation.

The flourishing period of our canonical prophecy began with the eighth century before Christ, some seven centuries after Moses, when Israel was suffering under Assyrian oppression. In this period before the captivity, Isaiah ("the salvation of God"), who appeared in the last years of king Uzziah, about ten years before the founding of Rome, is the leading figure; and around him Micah, Joel, and Obadiah in the kingdom of Judah, and Hosea, Amos, and Jonah in the kingdom of Israel, are grouped. In the period of the Babylonian exile, Jeremiah (i. e. "the Lord casts down") stands chief. He remained in the land of his fathers, and sang his lamentation in holy sorrow on the ruins of Jerusalem; while Ezekiel warned the exiles on the river Chebar against false prophets and carnal hopes, urged them to repentance, and depicted the new Jerusalem and the revival of the dry bones of the people by the breath of God; and Daniel at the court of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon saw in the spirit the succession of the four empires and the final triumph of the eternal kingdom of the Son of Man. The prophets of the restoration are Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. With Malachi, who lived to the time of

Nehemiah, the Old Testament prophecy ceased, and Israel was left to himself four hundred years, to digest during this period of expectation the rich substance of that revelation, and to prepare the birth-place for the approaching redemption.

3. But immediately before the advent of the Messiah the whole Old Testament, the law and the prophets, Moses and Isaiah together, reappeared for a moment embodied in John the Baptist, and then in unrivalled humility disappeared as the red dawn in the splendor of the rising sun of the new covenant. This remarkable man, earnestly preaching repentance in the wilderness and laying the axe at the root of the tree, and at the same time comforting with prophecy and pointing to the atoning Lamb of God, was indeed, as the immediate forerunner of the New Testament economy, and the personal friend of the heavenly Bridegroom, the greatest of them that were born of women; yet in his official character as the representative of the ancient preparatory economy he stands lower than the least in that kingdom of Christ, which is infinitely more glorious than all its types and shadows in the past.

This is the Jewish religion, as it flowed from the fountain of divine revelation and lived in the true Israel, the spiritual children of Abraham, in John the Baptist, his parents and disciples, in the mother of Jesus, her kindred and friends, in the venerable Simeon, and the prophetess Anna, in Lazarus and his pious sisters, in the apostles and the first disciples, who embraced Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets, the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, and who were the first fruits of the Christian church.

§ 12. *Heathenism.*

I. The works of the Greek and Roman classics.

- II. **St. AUGUSTINE:** *De civitate Dei*; the first ten books. **Is. VOSSIUS:** *De theologia gentili et physiol.* Christ. Fref. 1675. 2 vols. **CREUZER:** *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker.* Leipz. 3rd ed. 1837 sqq. 3 vols

O. MÜLLER: *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftl. Mythologie.* Gött. 1825. HEGEL: *Philosophie der Religion.* Berl. 1837. 2 vols. STUHR: *Allgem. Gesch. der Religionsformen der heidnischen Völker.* Berl. 1836. HARTUNG: *Die Religion der Römer.* Erl. 1836. 2 vols. NÄGELSBACH: *Homerische Theologie.* Nürnberg. 1840. The same: *Die nach homerische Theologie des Griechischen Volksglaubens bis auf Alexander.* Nürnberg. 1857. SEPP (R. C.): *Das Heidenthum und dessen Bedeutung für das Christenthum.* Regensb. 1853. 3 vols. WUTTKE: *Geschichte des Heidenthums in Beziehung auf Religion, Wissen, Kunst, Sittlichkeit und Staatsleben.* Bresl. 1852 sqq. SCHELLING: *Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie.* Stuttg. 1856, and *Philosophie der Mythologie.* Stuttg. 1857. MAURICE: *The Religions of the World in their Relations to Christianity.* Lond. 1854 (reprinted in Boston). TRENCH: *Hulsean Lectures for 1845-6. No. 2: Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom* (a commentary on the star of the wise men, Matt. ii.). Camb. 4th ed. 1854 (also Philad. 1850). Comp. also NIEBUHR's *Römische Geschichte*, and GROTE's *History of Greece*.

HEATHENISM is religion in its wild growth on the soil of fallen human nature, a darkening of the original consciousness of God, a deification of the rational and irrational creature, and a corresponding corruption of the moral sense, giving the sanction of religion to natural and unnatural vices.¹

Even the religion of Greece, which, as an artistic product of the imagination, has been justly styled the religion of beauty, is deformed by this moral distortion. It utterly lacks the true conception of sin, and consequently the true conception of holiness. It regards sin, not as a perverseness of will and an offence against the gods, but as a folly of the understanding and an offence against men, often even proceeding from the gods themselves; for "infatuation" is a "daughter of Jove." Then these gods themselves are mere men, in whom Homer and the popular faith saw and worshipped the weaknesses and vices of the Grecian character, as well as its virtues, in immensely magnified forms. They have bodies and senses, like mortals, only in colossal proportions. They eat and drink, though only nectar and ambrosia. They are limited, like men, to time and space. Though sometimes honored with the attributes of omnipotence

¹ Comp. Rom. i. 19 sqq.

and omniscience, yet they are subject to an iron fate, fall under delusion, and reproach each other with folly. Their heavenly happiness is disturbed by all the troubles of earthly life. Jupiter threatens his fellows with blows and death, and makes Olympus tremble, when he shakes his locks in anger. The gentle Venus bleeds from a spear-wound on her finger. Mars is felled with a stone by Diomedes. Neptune and Apollo have to serve for hire and are cheated. The gods are involved by their marriages in perpetual jealousies and quarrels. Though called holy and just, they are full of envy and wrath, hatred and lust, and provoke each other to lying and cruelty, perjury and adultery. Truly we have no cause to long with Schiller for the return of the "gods of Greece," but would rather join the poet in his joyful thanksgiving:

*"Einen zu bereichern unter allen,
Musste diese Götterwelt vergehn."*

Notwithstanding this essential apostasy from truth and holiness, heathenism was religion, a groping after "the unknown God."¹ By its superstition it betrayed the need of faith. Its polytheism rested on a dim monotheistic background; it subjected all the gods to Jupiter, and Jupiter himself to a mysterious fate. It had at bottom the feeling of dependence on higher powers and reverence for divine things. It preserved the memory of a golden age and of a fall. It had the voice of conscience, and a sense, obscure though it was, of guilt. It felt the need of reconciliation with deity, and sought that reconciliation by prayer, penance, and sacrifice. Many of its religious traditions and usages were faint echoes of the primal religion; and its mythological dreams of the mingling of the gods with men, of demigods, of Prometheus delivered by Hercules from his helpless sufferings, were unconscious prophecies and fleshly anticipations of Christian truths.

This alone explains the great readiness with which heathens embraced the gospel, to the shame of the Jews.²

¹ Acts xvii. 27 28. ² Comp. Matt. viii. 10; xv. 28. Luke vii. 9. Acts x. 35.

These elements of truth, morality, and piety in heathenism, may be ascribed to three sources. In the first place, man, even in his fallen state, retains some traces of the divine image, a consciousness of God, however weak, conscience, and a deep longing for union with the Godhead, for truth and for righteousness. In this view we may, with Tertullian, call the beautiful and true sentences of the classics, of a Socrates, a Plato, an Aristotle, of Pindar, Sophocles, Plutarch, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, "the testimonies of a soul constitutionally Christian,"¹ of a nature predestined to Christianity. Secondly, some account must be made of traditions and recollections, however faint, coming down from the general primal revelations to Adam and Noah. But the third and most important source of the heathen anticipations of truth is the all-ruling providence of God, who has never left himself without a witness. Particularly must we consider the influence of the divine Logos before his incarnation,² the tutor of mankind, the original light of reason, shining in the darkness and lighting every man, the sower scattering in the soil of heathendom the seeds of truth, beauty, and virtue.³

The old oriental forms of heathenism, the religion of the Chinese (Confucius, about 550 B.C.), the Brahminism and the later Buddhism of the Hindoos (perhaps 1000 B.C.), the religions of the Persians (Zoroaster, 700 B.C.), and of the Egyptians ("the religion of enigma"), have only a remote and indirect concern with the introduction of Christianity. But they form to some extent the historical basis of the western religions, and the Persian dualism especially was not without influence on the earlier sects (the Gnostic and Manichean) of the Christian church.

The flower of paganism appears in the two great nations of classic antiquity, Greece and Rome. With the language, morality, literature, and religion of these nations, the apostles came directly into contact, and through the whole first age the church moves on the basis of these nationalities. These, together with the Jews, were the chosen nations of the ancient world, and shared

¹ *Testimonia animæ naturaliter Christianæ.*

² Λόγος ἡσυχῆς, Λόγος σπερματικός.

³ Comp. John i. 4, 5, 9, 10.

the earth among them. The Jews were chosen for things eternal, to keep the sanctuary of the true religion. The Greeks prepared the elements of natural culture, of science and art, for the use of the church. The Romans developed the idea of law, and organized the civilized world in a universal empire, ready to serve the spiritual universality of the gospel. Both Greeks and Romans were unconscious servants of Jesus Christ, "the unknown God."

These three nations, by nature at bitter enmity among themselves, joined hands in the superscription on the cross, where the holy name and the royal title of the Redeemer stood written, by the command of the heathen Pilate, "in Hebrew and Greek and Latin."⁷

§ 13. *Grecian Literature and the Roman Empire.*

The literature of the ancient Greeks and the universal empire of the Romans were, next to the Mosaic religion, the chief agents in preparing the world for Christianity. They furnished the human forms, in which the divine substance of the gospel, thoroughly prepared in the bosom of the Jewish theocracy, was moulded. They laid the natural foundation for the supernatural edifice of the kingdom of heaven. God endowed the Greeks and Romans with the richest natural gifts, that they might reach the highest civilization possible without the aid of Christianity, and thus both provide the instruments of human science, art, and law for the use of the church, and yet at the same time show the utter impotence of these alone to bless and save the world.

The GREEKS, few in number, like the Jews, but vastly more important in history than the numberless hordes of the Asiatic empires, were called to the noble task of bringing out, under a sunny sky and with a clear mind, the idea of humanity in its natural vigor and beauty, but also in its natural imperfection. They developed the principles of science and art. They liberated

⁷ John xix. 20.

the mind from the dark powers of nature and the gloomy broodings of the eastern mysticism. They rose to the clear and free consciousness of manhood, boldly investigated the laws of nature and of spirit, and carried out the idea of beauty in all sorts of artistic forms. In poetry, sculpture, architecture, painting, philosophy, rhetoric, historiography, they left true master-pieces, which are to this day admired and studied as models of form and taste.

All these works became truly valuable and useful only in the hands of the Christian church, to which they ultimately fell. Greece gave the apostles the most copious and beautiful language to express the divine truth of the Gospel, and Providence had long before so ordered political movements, as to spread that language over all the world. The youthful hero Alexander the Great, a Macedonian indeed by birth, yet an enthusiastic admirer of Homer, an emulator of Achilles, a disciple of the scientific world-conqueror, Aristotle, and thus the truest Greek of his age, conceived the sublime thought of making Babylon the seat of a Grecian empire of the world; and though his empire fell to pieces at his untimely death, yet it had already carried the Greek language and literature to the borders of India, and made them a common possession of all civilized nations; so that the apostles could make themselves understood through that language in every city in the Roman domain. The Grecian philosophy, particularly the systems of Plato and Aristotle, formed the natural basis for scientific theology; Grecian eloquence, for sacred oratory; Grecian art, for that of the Christian church. Indeed, not a few ideas and maxims of the classics tread on the threshold of revelation, and sound like prophecies of Christian truth; especially the spiritual soarings of Plato, the deep religious reflections of Plutarch,¹ the sometimes almost Pauline moral precepts of Seneca. To many of the greatest church fathers, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and in some measure even to Augustine, Greek philosophy was a bridge to Chris-

¹ As in his excellent treatise: *De sera numinis vindicta*.

tian faith, a scientific schoolmaster for Christ. Nay, the whole ancient Greek church rose on the foundation of the Greek language and nationality, and were inexplicable without them.

Here lies the real reason, why the classical literature is to this day made the basis of liberal education throughout the Christian world. Youth are introduced to the elementary forms of science and art, to models of clear, tasteful style, and to self-made humanity at the summit of natural culture, and thus they are at the same time trained to the scientific apprehension of the Christian religion.

But aside from this permanent value of the Grecian literature, the glory of its native land had, at the birth of Christ, already irrecoverably departed. Civil liberty and independence had been destroyed by internal discord and corruption. Philosophy had run down into scepticism and refined materialism. Art had been degraded to the service of levity and sensuality. Infidelity or superstition had supplanted sound religious sentiment. Dishonesty and licentiousness reigned among high and low.

This hopeless state of things could not but impress the more earnest and noble souls with the emptiness of all science and art, and the utter insufficiency of this natural culture to meet the deeper wants of the heart. It must fill them with longings for a new religion.

The ROMANS were the practical and political nation of antiquity. Their calling was to carry out the idea of the state and of civil law, and to unite the nations of the world in a colossal empire, stretching from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the Lybian desert to the banks of the Rhine. If the Greeks had, of all nations, the deepest mind, and in literature even gave laws to their conquerors, the Romans had the strongest character, and were born to rule the world without. This difference of course reached even into the moral and religious life of the two nations. Was the Greek mythology the work of artistic fantasy and a religion of poesy; so was the Roman the work of calculation adapted to state purposes, political and utilitarian, but at the same time solemn, earnest, and energetic.

The Romans from the first believed themselves called to govern the world. The

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!"

had been their motto, in fact, long before Virgil thus gave it form. The very name of the *urbs æterna*, and the characteristic legend of its founding, prophesied its future. In their greatest straits the Romans never for a moment despaired of the commonwealth. With vast energy, profound policy, unwavering consistency, and wolf-like rapacity, they pursued their ambitious schemes, and became indeed the lords, but also, as their first historian, Tacitus says, the insatiable robbers of the world.¹

This immense extension, it is true, brought with it a diminution of those domestic and civil virtues, which at first so highly distinguished the Romans above the Greeks. The race of patriots and deliverers, who came from their ploughs to the public service, and humbly returned again to the plough or the kitchen, was extinct. Their worship of the gods, which was the root of their virtue, had sunk to mere form, running either into the most absurd superstitions, or giving place to unbelief, till the very priests laughed each other in the face when they met in the street. The ancient simplicity and contentment had been exchanged for boundless avarice and prodigality. Morality and chastity, so beautifully symbolized in the household ministry of the virgin Vesta, had yielded to vice and debauchery. Amusement had come to be sought in barbarous fights of beasts and gladiators, which not rarely consumed twenty thousand human lives in a single month. The lower classes had lost all nobler feeling, cared for nothing but "*panem et circenses*," and made the proud imperial city on the Tiber a slave of slaves. The huge empire of Tiberius and of Nero was but a giant body without a soul, going, with steps slow but sure, to final dissolution. We have only to read the testimonies of its greatest authors, of a Tacitus, a Seneca, or a Persius, to find the truth of Paul's dark

¹ "*Raptores orbis, quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit.*"

picture of heathendom, in the first chapter of his epistle to the Romans, fully certified by the heathens themselves, and to see the absolute need of a divine redemption.

Thus far the negative. On the other hand the universal empire of Rome was a positive groundwork for the universal empire of the gospel. It served as a crucible, in which all contradictory and irreconcilable peculiarities of the ancient nations and religions were dissolved into the chaos of a new creation. The Roman legions razed the partition-walls among the ancient nations, brought the extremes of the civilized world together in free intercourse, and united north and south and east and west in the bonds of a common language and culture, of common laws and customs. Thus they evidently, though unconsciously, opened the way for the rapid and general spread of that religion, which unites all nations in one family of God by the spiritual bond of faith and love.

The civil laws and institutions, also, and the great administrative wisdom of Rome did much for the outward organization of the Christian church. As the Greek church rose on the basis of the Grecian nationality, so the Latin church rose on that of ancient Rome, and reproduced in higher forms both its virtues and its defects. Roman Catholicism is pagan Rome baptized, a Christian reproduction of the universal empire seated of old in the city of the seven hills.

§ 14. *Judaism and Heathenism in Contact.*

The Roman empire, though directly establishing no more than an outward political union, still promoted indirectly a mutual intellectual and moral approach of the hostile religions of the Jews and Gentiles, who were to be reconciled in one divine brotherhood by the supernatural power of the cross of Christ.

1. The Jews, since the Babylonish captivity, had been scattered over all the world. In spite of the antipathy of the Gentiles, they had, by talent and industry, risen to wealth, influence, and every privilege, and had built their synagogues in all the commercial cities of the Roman empire. They had thus sown the seeds of

the knowledge of the true God and of Messianic hope in the field of the idolatrous world. The Old Testament scriptures were translated into Greek two centuries before Christ, and were read and expounded in the public worship of God, which was open to all. Every synagogue was, as it were, a mission-station of monotheism, and furnished the apostles an admirable place and a most natural introduction for their preaching of Jesus Christ as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets.

Then, as the heathen religions had been hopelessly undermined by sceptical philosophy and popular infidelity, many earnest Gentiles, especially multitudes of women, came over to Judaism either wholly or in part. The thorough converts called "proselytes of righteousness,"¹ were commonly still more bigoted and fanatical than the native Jews. The half-converts, "proselytes of the gate"² or "fearers of God,"³ who adopted only the monotheism, the principal moral laws, and the Messianic hopes of the Jews, without being circumcised, appear in the New Testament as the most susceptible hearers of the gospel, and formed the nucleus of many of the first Christian churches. Of this class were the centurion of Capernaum, Cornelius of Cesarea, Lydia of Philippi, Timothy, and many other prominent disciples.

2. On the other hand, the Græco-Roman heathenism, through its language, philosophy, and literature, exerted no inconsiderable influence to soften the fanatical bigotry of the higher and more cultivated classes of the Jews. Generally the Jews of the dispersion, who spoke the Greek language, the Hellenists, as they were called, were much more liberal than the proper Hebrews, or Palestinian Jews, who kept their mother tongue. This is evident in the Gentile missionaries, Barnabas of Cyprus and Paul of Tarsus, and in the whole church of Antioch, in contrast with that at Jerusalem. The Hellenistic Jewish form of Christianity was the natural bridge to the Gentile.

The most remarkable example of a transitional, though very

¹ גֵּרֵי הַצִּדִּיקִים.

² גֵּרֵי הַשַּׁעַר, Ex. xx. 10, Deut. v. 14.

³ Οἱ τρέφοντες, οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, Acts x. 2, xiii. 16, &c., and Josephus.

fantastic and Gnostic-like combination of Jewish and heathen elements meets us in the educated circles of the Egyptian metropolis, Alexandria, and in the system of Philo, who was contemporary with the founding of the Christian church, though he never came in contact with it. This Jewish divine sought to harmonize the religion of Moses with the philosophy of Plato by the help of an ingenious but arbitrary allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament; and from the books of Proverbs and of Wisdom he deduced a doctrine of the Logos so strikingly like that of John's Gospel, that many expositors think it necessary to impute to the apostle an acquaintance with the writings, or at least with the terminology of Philo. But Philo's speculation is to the apostle's "Word made flesh," as a shadow to the body, or a dream to the reality.

The Therapeutae, or Worshippers, a mystic, ascetic sect in Egypt, akin to the Essenes in Judea, carried this Platonic Judaism into practical life; but were, of course, equally unsuccessful in uniting the two religions in a vital and permanent way. Such a union could only be effected by a new religion revealed from heaven.

Quite independent of the philosophical Judaism of Alexandria were the Samaritans, a mixed race, which also combined, though in a different way, the elements of Jewish and Gentile religion. They held to the Pentateuch, to circumcision, and to carnal Messianic hopes; but they had a temple of their own on Mount Gerizim, and mortally hated the proper Jews. Among these Christianity, as would appear from the interview of Jesus with the woman of Samaria,¹ and the preaching of Philip,² found ready access, but, as among the Essenes and Therapeutae, fell easily into a heretical form. Simon Magus, for example, and some other Samaritan arch-heretics, are represented by the early Christian writers as the principal originators of Gnosticism.

3. Thus was the way for Christianity prepared on every side, positively and negatively, directly and indirectly, in theory and in practice, by truth and by error, by false belief and by unbelief

¹ Jno. iv.

² Acts viii

—those hostile brothers, which yet cannot live apart—by Jewish religion, by Grecian culture, and by Roman conquest; by the vainly attempted amalgamation of Jewish and heathen thought, by the exposed impotence of natural civilization, philosophy, art, and political power, by the decay of the old religions, by the universal distraction and hopeless misery of the age, and by the yearnings of all earnest and noble souls for the unknown God.

“In the fulness of time,” when the fairest flowers of science and art had withered, and the world was on the verge of despair, the Virgin’s Son was born to heal the infirmities of mankind. Christ entered a dying world as the author of a new and imperishable life.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDING AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCH.

§ 15. *Jesus Christ.*

- I. The four canonical Gospels and the other writings of the N. T. JOSEPHUS: *Antiquit.* xviii. 3, 3. In the heathen authors occur only a few passing notices of Christ and his crucifixion under Pontius Pilate. See TACITUS: *Annal.* xv. 44. SÆTONIUS: *Vita Claudii*, c. 25. PLINIUS jun.: *Epist.* x. 97. LUCIAN: *De morte peregr.* c. 11.
- II. J. J. HESS: *Lebensgeschichte Jesu*. Zür. 1781. 8th ed. 1823. 3 vols. F. V. REINHARD: *Versuch über den Plan Jesu*. 5th ed. by Heubner. Wittenb. 1830. C. ULLMANN: *Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu*. Hamb. 1828. 6th ed. 1853. K. HASE: *Das Leben Jesu*. Leipz. 1829. 4th ed. 1854. NEANDER: *Das Leben Jesu*. Hamb. 1837. 5th ed. 1852. The same in English by McClintock & Blumenthal, N. York, 1848. SEPP (R. C.): *Das Leben Jesu Christi*. Regensb. 1843 sqq. 4 vols. J. P. LANGE: *Das Leben Jesu*. Heidelb. 1847 sqq. 3 parts. A. EBRARD: *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*. 2d ed. Erl. 1850. J. YOUNG: *The Christ of History*. Lond. and New York, 1855. LICHTENSTEIN: *Lebensgeschichte Jesu in chronolog. Uebersicht*. Erl. 1856. GESS: *Die Lehre von der Person Christi entwickelt aus dem Selbst-bewusstsein Christi und aus dem Zeugnisse der Apostel*. Bas. 1856.
- (The critical works of Paulus, D. F. Strauss, Bruno Bauer, and to some extent those of Gfrörer, Weisse, and Hase, on the evangelical history, represent the various phases of German rationalism and negative criticism, but especially in the case of Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, which is translated also into English, have called forth a copious apologetic literature, which we cannot here cite in detail. Comp. the full literary apparatus in Hase's *Leben Jesu*, p. 37 sqq.).
- On the chronology of the Life of Jesus see K. WIESELER: *Chronolog. Synopse der 4 Evangelien*. Hamb. 1843. JARVIS: *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*. N. York, 1845. SEYFFARTH: *Chronologia s., Untersuchungen über das Geburtsjahr des Herrn*. Leipzig, 1846. F. PIPER: *Das Datum der Geburt Christi*, in the "Evangel. Kalender" for 1856. p. 41 sqq.

WHEN the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his only-

begotten Son, "the Desire of all nations," to redeem the world from the curse of sin, and to establish an everlasting kingdom of truth, love, and peace for all who should believe on his name.

In Jesus Christ a preparatory history both divine and human comes to its close. In him culminate all the previous revelations of God to Jews and Gentiles; and in him are fulfilled the deepest desires and efforts of both Gentiles and Jews for redemption. In his divine nature, as Logos, he is the eternal Son of the Father, and the agent in the creation and preservation of the world, and in all those preparatory manifestations of God, which were completed in the incarnation. In his human nature, as Jesus of Nazareth, he is the ripe fruit of the religious growth of humanity, with an earthly ancestry, which St. Matthew traces to Abraham, the patriarch of the Jews, and St. Luke (the evangelist of the Gentiles), to Adam, the father of all men. In him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and in him also is realized the ideal of human virtue and piety. He is the eternal Truth, and the divine Life itself, personally joined with our nature, our Lord and our God; yet at the same time flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. In him is solved the problem of religion, the reconciliation and fellowship of man with God; and we must expect no clearer revelation of God, nor any higher religious attainment of man, than is already guaranteed and substantially given in his person.

But as Jesus Christ thus closes all previous history, so, on the other hand, he begins an endless future. He is the author of a new creation, the second Adam, the father of regenerate humanity, the head of the church, "which is his body, the fulness of him, that filleth all in all." He is the pure and inexhaustible fountain of that stream of light and life, which has since flowed unbroken through nations and ages, and will continue to flow, till the earth shall be full of his praise, and every tongue shall confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. The universal diffusion and absolute dominion of the spirit and life of Christ will be also the completion of the human race, the end of history, and the beginning of a glorious eternity.

Jesus Christ came into the world under Cæsar Augustus, at least four years before our Dionysian era ; for the year of Herod's death was 750, not 754, after the founding of Rome. He was born of the virgin Mary, the bride of the Holy Ghost, at Bethlehem of Judea, in the royal line of David. The world was at peace, and the gates of Janus were closed for only the second time in the history of Rome. Angels from heaven proclaimed the glad tidings of his birth with songs of praise ; Jewish shepherds from the fields, and heathen sages from the east, greeted the new-born king in the manger with the adoration of believing hearts. He grew up quietly and unnoticed in the despised village of Nazareth in Galilee, under the care of poor but godly parents, and with no source of instruction save the secret communion of the soul with God, and the religion of the ancient covenant. He began his public ministry in the thirtieth year of his age, and chose from among the unlearned fishermen of Galilee twelve apostles for the Jews and seventy evangelists for the Gentiles. Three years he went about in Palestine doing good, speaking words of spirit and life, and working miracles of compassion and love. He had no earthly possessions. A few pious women from time to time filled his purse ; and this purse was in the hands of a thief and traitor. He never courted the favor of the great, but was the object of their hatred and persecution. He never flattered the prejudices of the age, but rebuked sin and vice in all circles of society. He was no scholar, in the ordinary sense of the word, nor artist, nor orator ; yet was he wiser than all earthly sages, he spake as never man spake, and he made an impression on his own age and all ages after, such as no man could ever make. He conquered sin and death on their own ground, and thus redeemed and sanctified the nature of man. He exhibited in his private life and public walk the purest and deepest love to God and man ; a peaceful harmony of all the powers and virtues of the soul ; an unexampled union of dignity and humility, of earnestness and love, of strength and meekness, of energy and mildness, of self-control and submission, of greatness and simplicity ; in short, the ideal of moral perfection. At

last he completed his active obedience by the passive obedience of suffering in perfect resignation to the holy will of God; and before he had reached the prime of manhood—the Saviour of the world a youth!—he died, condemned by the Jewish courts, rejected by the people, denied by Peter, betrayed by Judas, but surrounded by his weeping mother and faithful disciples; he died the shameful death of the cross, the just for the unjust, the innocent for the guilty, a free self-sacrifice of infinite love, to reconcile the world unto God. The third day he rose from the grave the conqueror of death and hell, the prince of life and resurrection; he appeared to his disciples; he took possession of his heavenly throne, and by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost he established the church, which he has ever since protected, nourished, and comforted, and with which he has promised to abide, till he shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead.

But a human pen can no more do justice to the life of Jesus than one, to use the words of the genial and pious Lavater, could “paint the glory of the rising sun with charcoal.” The whole history of the church, with its countless fruits of the divine life of truth and love, is an imperfect commentary on the sketch drawn by the evangelists with childlike simplicity, yet unfathomable depth, and with such general and lasting effect as could not be produced by the highest arts of historical composition. The complete catalogue of virtues could give no adequate view of the great peculiarity in the character of Jesus, the absolute symmetry of all moral faculties, the perfect inward harmony, unruffled by the slightest passion or selfishness, never a moment withdrawn from the closest communion with the Father in heaven, or from unreserved devotion to the welfare of mankind. Here is truly the fountain of life and peace. Here is the highest union of piety and virtue, of love to God and love to man, ever seen upon earth. Here is the “holy of holies” of humanity, before which infidelity itself feels an irresistible awe. Even a Rousseau exclaimed: “Socrates lived and died like a sage, but Jesus Christ lived and died like a God!”

¹ Comp. Jno. xxi. 25.

The divinity of Christ, and his whole mission as Redeemer, is an article of faith, and, as such, above logical or mathematical demonstration. Yet it forces itself irresistibly upon the thinking mind.

It appears, in the first place, in his own express testimony respecting himself. This must be either true, or else fearfully presumptuous, and indeed downright blasphemy. But how can the latter supposition stand a moment before the moral purity and dignity of Jesus, revealed in his every word and work, and acknowledged by the general voice even of Unitarians and Rationalists? The concession of the human perfection of Jesus involves the truth of his testimony respecting his own divinity, and of all those expressions in which he claims divine names, attributes, and worship. Self-deception, in a matter so momentous, and with a mind in other respects so clear and so sound, is of course equally out of the question. Thus we are shut up to the divinity of Christ; and reason itself must at last bow in silent awe before the tremendous word; "I and the Father are one!" and respond with sceptical St. Thomas: "My Lord and my God!"

To the same purpose are the immense effects of the manifestation of Jesus, lying far beyond all human power; the history of the last eighteen hundred years, which testifies on every page the moral glory and irresistible attraction of his holy name; and the faith of the church, which is at this day as lively and powerful as ever, and more widely spread than ever before. The rationalistic and mythical methods of explaining the gospels, really explain nothing at all; they only substitute for the supernatural and supernatural miracle in which they will not believe, an irrational and unnatural wonder; they make the great fact of the universal Christian church a stream without a source, a house without a foundation, an effect without a cause, a pure absurdity. Against these we may quote with full right a remarkable testimony uttered by Napoleon on the rock of St. Helena, in full view of his own unrivalled career of victory and defeat. "I know men," said he to General Bertrand; "and I tell you, Christ was not a man. * * * Everything about Christ

astonishes me. His spirit overwhelms and confounds me. There is no comparison between him and any other being. He stands single and alone. Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and I, have founded empires. But on what rest the creations of our genius? On force Jesus alone founded his kingdom on love; and at this hour millions of men would die for him."

Yes; millions of the most enlightened, the noblest and the best of men, have freely died, and millions are now ready to die for the name of Jesus, while hardly one would lay down his life for Alexander or Cæsar or Napoleon, for Socrates or Plato. In this single thought lies an unanswerable argument for the divinity of Christ.

Besides the artless, but for this reason all the more trustworthy and impressive portrait in the gospels, we have from outside the church a striking testimony concerning Christ from the mouth of the learned Jewish historian, Josephus, towards the end of the first century. This testimony, first cited by Eusebius, is so strong that several critics since the seventeenth century have declared it either in whole or in part an interpolation. But it is found in all the manuscripts of Josephus, who, though no Christian, yet, as the historian of his nation and age, could not have passed over Christ in utter silence; the less, since he mentions also John the Baptist. The internal difficulty, that with such a persuasion of the Messiahship of Jesus he could not have remained a Jew, may possibly be solved by the consideration of his eclecticism and his acknowledged want of consistency and strong character. We here give his testimony, marking in notes the passages most liable to suspicion, from his Antiquities of the Jews, composed about the year 90:—

"Now there rose about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works,¹ a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He carried away with him many of the Jews and also many of the Greeks. He was the Christ.² And after Pilate, at the sugges-

¹ παραδόξων έργων ποιητής.

² ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν.

tion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them alive again the third day;¹ the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of those called Christians, after him, is not extinct to this day."

§ 16. *The Miracle of Pentecost, and the Birth-day of the Church.*

A.D. 30.

Compare the commentaries on Acts ii. and 1 Cor. xii. and xiv.; and several treatises on the speaking with tongues, by HERDER, BLEEK, SCHNECKENBURGER, WIESELER, BAUR, ROSSTEUSCHER, HILGENFELD, and others.

The Jewish Pentecost, the feast of the first-fruits, and of the giving of the law on Sinai, prefiguring the first spiritual harvest and the establishment of the covenant of grace, as the passover prefigured the atoning death and the resurrection of Christ, received in the year of Christ's death (30) an immeasurable significance, as the birth-day of the Christian church and the beginning of the third era in the revelation of the triune God. On this day the Holy Spirit, who had hitherto wrought only sporadically and transiently, took up his permanent abode in mankind as the Spirit of truth and holiness, with the whole fulness of saving grace, to apply that grace thenceforth to believers by means of the word and the sacraments, and to reveal and glorify Christ in them, as Christ had revealed and glorified the Father.

While the apostles and disciples, a hundred and twenty (ten times twelve) in number, were assembled in or near the temple for the morning devotions of the festal day, and were waiting in prayer for the fulfilment of the promise, the exalted Saviour poured down from his heavenly throne the fulness of the Holy Ghost upon them, and founded his church upon earth. Extraordinary signs from heaven, symbols of the purifying and quickening power of the divine Spirit, attended this new creation, and

¹ ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν ζῶν.

filled the multitude of Jews and their companions, who had come up to the feast from all quarters of the Roman empire, with wonder and fear. By the baptism of the Spirit and of fire, the apostles were now formally ordained from on high to the work, to which they had already been called and trained by the Lord. The Holy Ghost gave them a clear and full view of the person and work of Christ, and so took possession of their minds, that they thenceforth proclaimed the gospel by tongue and pen, out of the fulness of the Spirit and with divine authority, and became the pillars of the church. This was the original act of inspiration. It not only enlightened the apostles in knowledge, but transported them into the element of a new, supernatural life, into the centre of the Christian truth and salvation, and qualified and solemnly consecrated them to be infallible witnesses of Jesus.

The torrent of the new-creating Spirit and life broke through the confines of nature and of everyday speech, and burst forth at first in an act of prayer and self-edification. In an ecstasie elevation, and in new kinds of language corresponding thereto, the disciples praised the wonderful works of divine love. This "speaking with tongues," therefore, concerned primarily only the inspired ones themselves. It was the praise and thanksgiving of their enraptured souls for the gift received, and was intelligible only to hearers similarly wrought upon by the power from on high, while the unbelievers scoffingly ascribed the wonderful effect of the Holy Ghost to excess of wine.

But this speaking with tongues was followed by the interpretation of tongues; the rapturous language of the soul in converse with God, by the sober words of ordinary self-possession for the benefit of the people.

While the assembled multitude wondered at this miracle with widely various emotions, St. Peter, the rock-man, appeared in the name of all the disciples, and in a clear, simple, and most suitable address explained the supernatural phenomenon as the work of that Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Jews had crucified, but who was, by word and deed, by his resurrection from the dead, his exaltation to the right hand of God, and this effusion

of the Holy Ghost, accredited as the promised Messiah, according to the express prediction of the Scripture. He at the same time called upon his hearers to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus as the founder and head of the heavenly kingdom, that even they, though they had crucified the Lord of glory, might receive forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost whose wonderful workings they saw in the disciples.

This was the first independent testimony of the apostles, the first Christian sermon. It resulted in the conversion and baptism of three thousand persons, gathered as first-fruits into the garner of the church.

In these first-fruits of the glorified Redeemer, and in this founding of the new economy of Spirit and gospel, instead of the old theocracy of letter and law, the typical meaning of the Jewish Pentecost was gloriously fulfilled. But this birth-day of the Christian church is in its turn only the beginning, the type and pledge, of a still greater spiritual harvest and a universal feast of thanksgiving, when, in the full sense of the prophecy, the Holy Ghost shall be poured out on all flesh, all the sons and daughters of men shall walk in its light, and God shall be praised with new tongues of fire for the completion of his wonderful work of redeeming love.

§ 17. *St. Peter and the Church among the Jews.*

Compare the corresponding portions of the works on the Apostolic age mentioned in § 8, and the commentaries on Acts iii.—xii. Also THIERSCH: *De Stephani protomartyris oratione commentatio exegetica*. Marb. 1849. MEYERHOFF: *Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften*. Hamb. 1835. WINDISCHMANN (R. C.): *Vindiciae Petrinae*. Ratisb. 1836. STENGLEIN (R. C.): *Ueber den 25 jährigen Aufenthalt des heil. Petrus in Rom* (Tübinger Theol. Quartalschrift, 1840). WEISS: *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*. Berl. 1856.—SCHAFF: *Jakobus Alphäi und Jakobus der Bruder des Herrn*. Berl. 1842.

The church at Jerusalem became the mother of Jewish Christianity, and thus of all Christendom. It grew both inwardly and outwardly under the personal direction of the apostles;

chiefly of Peter, to whom the Lord had early assigned a peculiar prominence in the work of building his church on the immovable foundation of "God manifest in the flesh."¹ The apostles were assisted by a number of presbyters, and seven deacons or persons appointed to care for the poor and the sick. But the Spirit moved in the whole congregation; bound to no particular office. The preaching of the gospel, the working of miracles in the name of Jesus, and the attractive power of a holy walk in faith and love, were the instruments of progress. The number of the Christians, or, as they at first called themselves, disciples, believers, brethren, saints, soon rose to five thousand, who continued steadfastly under the instruction and in the fellowship of the apostles, in the daily worship of God and celebration of the holy Supper with their agapae or love-feasts. They felt themselves to be one family of God, members of one body under one head, Jesus Christ; and this fraternal unity expressed itself even in a community of goods and in love-feasts,—an anticipation, as it were, of an ideal state at the end of history. . . .

Yet even in this primitive apostolic community inward corruption early appeared, and with it also the severity of discipline and self-purification, in the terrible sentence of Peter on the hypocritical Ananias and Sapphira.

At first Christianity found favor with the people. Soon, however, it had to encounter the same persecution as its divine founder had undergone, but only, as before, to transform it into a blessing and to grow thereby.

The persecution was begun by the sceptical sect of the Sadducees, who took offence at the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ, the centre of all the apostolic preaching.

When Stephen, one of the seven deacons of the church at Jerusalem, a man full of faith and zeal, the forerunner of the apostle Paul, boldly assailed the perverse and obstinate spirit of Judaism, and declared the approaching downfall of the Mosaic economy, the Pharisees also made common cause with the Sadducees against

¹ Comp Matt. xvi. 16-19

the gospel. Thus began the emancipation of Christianity from the temple-worship of Judaism, with which it had till then remained at least outwardly connected. Stephen himself was falsely accused of blaspheming Moses, and after a remarkable address in his own defence, he was stoned by a mob (A.D. 37), and thus became the worthy leader of the sacred host of martyrs, whose blood was thenceforth to fertilize the soil of the church. From the blood of his martyrdom soon sprang the great apostle of the Gentiles, now his bitterest persecutor, and an eye-witness of his heroism and of the glory of Christ in his dying face.

The stoning of Stephen was the signal for a general persecution, and thus at the same time for the spread of Christianity over all Palestine and the region around. And it was soon followed by the conversion of Cornelius of Cesarea, which opened the door for the mission to the Gentiles.

After some seven years of repose the church at Jerusalem suffered a new persecution under king Herod Agrippa (A.D. 44). James the elder, the brother of John, was beheaded. Peter was imprisoned and condemned to the same fate; but he was miraculously liberated, and then forsook Jerusalem, leaving the church to the care of James the "brother of the Lord." Eusebius supposed that he went at that early period to Rome. But the book of Acts (xii. 17) says only: "He departed, and went into another place."

Afterwards we find this apostle again in Jerusalem at the apostolic council;¹ then at Antioch, where he came into temporary collision with Paul;² then upon missionary tours;³ perhaps among the dispersed Jews in Asia Minor, to whom he addressed his epistles.⁴ Of a residence of Peter in Rome the New Testament contains no certain trace, unless, as the church fathers and many of the best modern expositors think, Rome is intended by the Babylon mentioned in 1 Pet. v. 13. The entire silence of the Acts of the Apostles, c. 28, respecting Peter, of the epistle of Paul to the Romans, and the epistles written by that apostle from

¹ A.D. 50: Acts xv.² Gal. ii. 11 sqq³ 1 Cor. ix. 5.⁴ 1 Pet. i. 1.

Rome during his imprisonment there, in which Peter is not once named in the salutations, is decisive proof that Peter was not in that city during most of the time between the years 57 and 63. But the uniform tradition of the eastern and western churches is, that he preached the gospel in Rome, and suffered martyrdom there in the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64; according to others, 67 or 68). So say Ignatius of Antioch, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus of Lyons, Caius of Rome, in the second century; Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Tertullian, in the third; Lactantius, Eusebius, Jerome, and others in the fourth. However these testimonies from various men and countries may differ in particular circumstances, they can only be accounted for on the supposition of some fact at the bottom; for they were previous to any use or abuse of this tradition for hierarchical purposes. But the time of Peter's arrival in Rome, and the length of his residence there, cannot possibly be ascertained. The above-mentioned dates of the Acts and of Paul's epistles allow him only a short period of labor there; and the subsequent statement of Eusebius and Jerome respecting a twenty or twenty-five years' episcopate of Peter in Rome, rests unquestionably on a great chronological mistake.

The cruel persecution, in which Peter was crucified (head downwards, according to tradition), and Paul was beheaded, broke out soon after the terrible conflagration, which in July, 64, according to Tacitus, laid half of Rome in ashes. Nero, branded in history as a moral monster, most probably himself produced this horrible spectacle, for his own entertainment, to represent the burning of Troy; but he charged the incendiarism on the hated Christians, and so freely exposed them to the popular fury, that according to the description of the same heathen historian, some were crucified, others were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts and thrown to dogs, and others were smeared with pitch and burnt for torches in the garden of the emperor on the Vatican hill! The infernal tragedy wound up with a grand military procession, in which Nero figured as charioteer.

After Peter, James, called the brother of the Lord, also the

Just, stands most prominent in the church of the circumcision. After the flight of Peter (A.D. 44), he presided as bishop over the church at Jerusalem until his martyrdom. He was a still more strict Jewish Christian than his predecessor, who, after the conversion of Cornelius and the apostolic council, leaned towards the Gentile Christian views, and stood between James and Paul. James is described by Hegesippus as the ideal of a Jewish saint, uniting the most scrupulous observance of the ceremonial and moral law with a decided faith in Christ, "the Lord of glory." Of all the apostles and first disciples, he was best fitted to connect the Jewish economy with the Christian in that critical time of the approaching judgment of the holy city, and to lead the disciples of Moses to Christ. But the Pharisees finally threw him down from the pinnacle of the temple and stoned him, after he had prayed, like his Master on the cross: "I pray the Lord, God, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." According to Hegesippus, he died shortly before the destruction of the temple; but according to Josephus, some years earlier, A.D. 62.

Symeon, a cousin of Jesus, was elected successor of James after the destruction of the holy city, and died as a martyr under Trajan, at the great age of a hundred and twenty years. The next thirteen bishops of Jerusalem, who came, however, in rapid succession, were likewise of Jewish descent. Throughout this period the church at Jerusalem preserved its strongly Israelitish type, but joined with it "the genuine knowledge of Christ," and stood in communion with the catholic church, from which the Ebionites, as heretical Jewish Christians, were excluded. After the line of the fifteen circumcised bishops had run out, and Jerusalem was a second time laid waste under Adrian, the mass of the Jewish Christians gradually merged in the Greek church.

Most of the twelve apostles, respecting whose lives and fortunes the book of Acts is silent, labored at first in Palestine, and afterwards probably among the Jews of the dispersion to the utinost limits of the Roman empire. Thus tradition assigns to

Thaddeus Edessa, as the field of his missionary work and martyrdom; to Thomas, Parthia; to Andrew, Scythia; to Bartholomew, India. It is certain that the ancient churches in Syria and Kurdistan, in Egypt and Ethiopia, bear to this day rather the Jewish-Christian stamp, than the Gentile-Christian or Pauline.

St. Mark, the evangelist and companion of Peter, is made by a credible tradition the founder of the church of Alexandria, the centre of the christianization of Egypt.

§ 18. *Preparation for the Mission to the Gentiles.*

The planting of the church among the Gentiles is mainly the work of Paul; but Providence prepared the way for it by several steps, before this apostle entered upon his sublime mission.

1. By the conversion of those half-Gentiles and bitter enemies of the Jews, the Samaritans, under the preaching and baptism of Philip the evangelist, one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem, and under the confirming instruction of the apostles Peter and John,¹ the gospel found ready entrance into Samaria, as had been prophetically hinted by the Lord in the conversation at Jacob's well.² But there we meet also the first heretical perversion of Christianity by Simon Magus, whose hypocrisy and attempt to degrade the gift of the Holy Ghost received from Peter a terrible rebuke. (Hence the term *simony* for sordid traffic in church offices and dignities.) This encounter of the prince of the apostles with the arch-heretic was regarded in the ancient church, and fancifully represented, as typifying the relation of ecclesiastical orthodoxy to deceptive heresy.

2. Somewhat later (between 37 and 40), occurred the conversion of the centurion, Cornelius of Caesarea, a pious proselyte of the gate, whom Peter, in consequence of a special revelation, received into the communion of the Christian church directly by baptism, without circumcision. This bold step the apostle had to vindicate to the strict Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, who thought circumcision a condition of salvation, and Judaism the

¹ Acts viii.

² John iv

only way to Christianity.¹ Thus Peter laid the foundation also of the Gentile-Christian church.

3. Still more important was the rise at about the same time of the church at Antioch, the capital of Syria. This congregation, formed under the influence of the Hellenist Barnabas of Cyprus and Paul of Tarsus, seems to have consisted from the first of converted heathens and Jews. It thus became the mother of Gentile Christendom, as Jerusalem was the mother and centre of Jewish. In Antioch, too, the name "Christian" first appeared,² which was soon everywhere adopted by the disciples, as well denoting their nature and mission as the followers of Christ, the divine-human prophet, priest, and king.

§ 19. *St. Paul and the Church among the Gentiles.*

I. The second part of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of Paul.

II. PEARSON: *Annales Paulini*. Lond. 1688. PALEY: *Horae Paulinae*, or, The Truth of the Scripture History of Paul evinced by a comparison of the Epistles, which bear his name, with the Acts of the Apostles and with one another. Lond. 1790 (and frequently since). LORD LYTTLETON: *Conversion of St. Paul*. Lond. 1790. HEMSEN: *Der Apostel Paulus*. Gött. 1830. USTERI: *Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs*. Zür. 6th ed. 1851. BAUR: *Paulus*. Tüb. 1847. WIESELER: *Chronologie des Apostol. Zeitalters*. Gött. 1848. CONYBEARE & HOWSON: *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. Lond. 1853. 2 vols., and N. York, 1854. 2nd ed. Lond. 1856. AD. MONOD: *Der Apostel Paulus (five Discourses from the French)*. Elberf. 1854. H. EWALD: *Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus übersetzt und erklärt*. Gött. 1857.

Comp. also the Commentaries on the several Epistles of Paul, especially those of *Tholuck*, *Olshausen*, *Fritzsche*, *De Wette*, *Meyer*, *Alford*, *Hodge*, the Commentaries on the second part of Acts by *Baumgarten*, *Alexander*, *Hackett*, etc., and the relevant parts of *Neander*, *Thiersch*, *Lange*, *Schaff*, on the Apost. Age.

St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who decided the victory of Christianity as a universal religion, and who labored more, both in word and deed, than all his colleagues, was of strictly Jewish parentage, but was born a Roman citizen in the renowned Grecian commercial and literary city of Tarsus, in the

¹ Acts x. and xi.

² Acts xi. 26.

province of Cilicia. He received a learned Jewish education in the school of the Pharisean Rabbi, Gamaliel; not remaining an entire stranger to Greek literature, as his style, his dialectic method, his allusions to heathen religion and philosophy, and his occasional quotations from heathen poets show. Thus, a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" yet at the same time a native Hellenist, and a Roman citizen, he combined in himself, so to speak, the three great nationalities of the ancient world, and was endowed with all the natural qualifications for a universal apostleship. He could argue with the Pharisees as a son of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin, as a disciple of the renowned Gamaliel surnamed "the Glory of the Law," and as one of the strictest of their sect. He could address the Greeks in their own beautiful tongue, and with the force of their strong logic. Clothed with the dignity and majesty of the Roman people, he could travel safely over the whole empire with the watchword: *Civis Romanus sum*.

By his extraordinary talents and energy of character Saul of Tarsus soon rose to eminence among the Jewish divines; put himself at the head of the persecution against the Christians, whom he hated as apostates from the divine religion of the Old Testament; and labored in honest and ignorant zeal, yet not without heavy guilt, to root out their name from the earth.

But when, not content with the martyrdom of Stephen, he had obtained full power from the Sanhedrim, and "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of Jesus," had started for the Syrian city of Damascus, he was suddenly arrested by the hand of divine grace, and brought out of darkness into the marvellous light of the gospel (A.D. 37). That Jesus, whom, in the persons of the disciples, he fanatically persecuted, appeared from his heavenly glory, and transformed the raging Saul into the praying Paul, the self-righteous Pharisee into the humble Christian, the most dangerous enemy of the church into her most zealous friend. He yielded in true repentance to this overwhelming proof of the Messiahship of Jesus, and in childlike

¹ Phil. iii. 5.

faith in him he found forgiveness, peace, and the power of holiness, which he had vainly sought in the way of the law. The divine-human person and the atoning work of Christ became to him "wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." Henceforth he devoted his fruitful mind, his zealous heart, and his energetic will wholly to the service of Christ, and in that service he found his freedom, his happiness, and his glory.

The conversion of Paul was also his call to the apostolic office and the suddenness of his change, the greatness of the divine mercy to him, the bold contrast between his new life and his old, all eminently fitted him to preach the unmerited grace of God and justification by faith, and to take the lead in the conversion of the Gentiles.

But he did not enter fully on his apostolic work, until, seven years later, he received a still clearer revelation in the temple at Jerusalem.¹ The intervening time, after a brief intercourse with Ananias and other Christians of Damascus, he spent partly in retired preparation in the Arabian desert, partly in subordinate labors as evangelist and assistant to his senior Barnabas in building up the church at Antioch. The Jewish apostles seem to have suspected at first the genuineness of his conversion,² and not to have put full confidence in him till the fruits of his labors among the heathen placed his divine call and his peculiar mission beyond all doubt.

Glance a moment at the general character of his grand labors for the propagation of Christianity. Though endowed with the authority of the Holy Ghost, he still took from the church at Antioch a solemn commission to preach to the Gentiles.³ He made this mother-church of Gentile Christendom the centre of his missionary tours. He followed in general the current of history, of commerce, and of civilization, from east to west, from Syria to Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. In the larger and more influential cities, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, he resided a considerable time. From these salient points he sent the gospel

¹ Acts xxii. 17-21² Acts ix. 26.³ Acts xiii. 2, 3.

by his pupils and fellow-laborers into the surrounding towns and villages. Where there was a synagogue, he always addressed himself first to the Jews and proselytes, taking up the regular lessons of the Old Testament scriptures, and demonstrating their fulfilment in Jesus of Nazareth. But almost uniformly he found the half-Jews, or proselytes of the gate, and the heathen, more open to the gospel than his own brethren; and his congregations were generally a mixture of both Jews and Gentiles. In noble self-denial he earned his subsistence with his own hands, as a tent-maker, that he might not be burdensome to his congregations (composed mostly of the poorer classes), that he might preserve his independence, stop the mouths of his enemies, and testify his gratitude to the infinite mercy of the Lord, who had called him from his headlong, fanatical career of persecution to the office of an apostle of free grace. Only as an exception did he receive gifts from the Christians at Philippi, who were peculiarly dear to him; though he repeatedly enjoins upon the churches to care for the temporal support of their teachers who break to them the bread of eternal life. Of the innumerable difficulties and dangers and sufferings, which he encountered with Jews, heathens, and false brethren,¹ we can hardly form an adequate idea; for the book of Acts is only a summary record. But by the grace of God, which was sufficient for him, he more than conquered them, and laid all the glory at the foot of the cross.

Luke, his faithful companion, mentions three great missionary journeys of the Gentile apostle. But Paul must have made many excursions besides; for he preached the gospel in all the countries between Jerusalem and Illyria on the coast of the Adriatic, everywhere seeking new fields of labor, where Christ was not yet known, that he might not build on any other man's foundation.²

1. On his first great tour the apostle set out, with Barnabas and Mark, in the year 45, by the special direction of the Holy Ghost through the prophets of the congregation at Antioch. He

¹ Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 23 sqq.

² Rom. xv. 19, 20.

traversed the island of Cyprus and several provinces of Asia Minor. The conversion of the Roman proconsul, Sergius Paulus, at Paphos; the rebuke and punishment of the Jewish sorcerer, Elymas; the marked success of the gospel in Pisidia, and the bitter opposition of the unbelieving Jews; the miraculous healing of a cripple at Lystra; the idolatrous worship there offered to Paul and Barnabas by the superstitious heathens, and its sudden change into hatred against them as enemies of the gods; the stoning of the missionaries, their escape from death, and their successful return to Antioch, are the leading incidents of this tour.

2. After the apostolic council at Jerusalem and the temporary adjustment of the difference between the Jewish and Gentile branches of the church, Paul undertook, in the year 51, a second great journey, which decided the Christianization of Europe. He took Silas for his companion. Having first visited his old churches, he proceeded, with the help of Silas and the young convert Timothy, to establish new ones through the provinces of Phrygia and Galatia, till, in answer to the Macedonian cry: "Come over and help us!" he crossed from Troas into Greece.

In Greece he preached the gospel with great success, first in Philippi, where he converted the purple-dealer, Lydia, and the jailor, and was imprisoned with Silas, but miraculously delivered and honorably released; then in Thessalonica, where he was persecuted by the Jews, but left a flourishing church; in Berea, where the converts showed exemplary zeal in searching the Scriptures; in Athens, where he reasoned with the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers, and declared on the Areopagus "the unknown God;" and lastly in Corinth. In this city, the commercial centre between east and west, a flourishing seat of wealth and culture, but of corruption too, the apostle spent eighteen months, and under almost insurmountable difficulties he built up a church, which exhibited all the virtues and all the faults of the Grecian character under the influence of the gospel, and which he honored with two of his most important epistles. In the spring of 54 he returned by way of Ephesus, Caesarea, and Jerusalem to Antioch.

3. Towards the close of the same year Paul went to Ephesus, and in this renowned capital of proconsular Asia and of the worship of Diana, he fixed for three years the centre of his missionary work; then visited his churches in Macedonia and Achaia, and remained three months more in Corinth and the vicinity. During this period he wrote the epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans.

4. In the spring of 58 he journeyed, for the fifth and last time, to Jerusalem, by way of Philippi, Troas, Miletus (where he delivered his affecting valedictory to the Ephesian elders), Tyre, and Caesarea, to carry to the poor brethren in Judaea a contribution from the Christians of Greece, and by this token of gratitude and love to cement the two branches of the apostolic church more firmly together. But some fanatical Jews, who bitterly hated him as an apostate and a demagogue, raised an uproar against him at Pentecost; charged him with profaning the temple, because he had taken into it the Greek, Trophimus; dragged him out of the sanctuary, lest they should defile it with blood; and would undoubtedly have killed him, had not Claudius Lysias, the Roman tribune, who lived near by, come promptly with his soldiers to the spot. This officer rescued Paul from the mob, set him the next day before the Sanhedrim, and after a tumultuous and fruitless session of the council, and the discovery of a plot against his life, sent him, with a strong military guard and a certificate of innocence, to the procurator Felix, in Caesarea.

Here the apostle was confined two whole years (58-60), awaiting his trial before the Sanhedrim, uncondemned, occasionally speaking before Felix, apparently treated with comparative mildness, visited by the Christians, and in some way not known to us promoting the kingdom of God.

After the accession of the new and better procurator, Festus, Paul, as a Roman citizen, appealed to the tribunal of Caesar, and thus opened the way to the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire to preach the Saviour of the world in the world's metropolis. Having once more testified his innocence, and spoken for Christ in a masterly defence before Festus, King Herod Agrippa II., his

guests, and the most distinguished men of Caesarea, he was sent in the autumn of the year 60 to the emperor. After a stormy voyage and a shipwreck, which detained the vessel over winter at Malta, the apostle, with a few faithful companions, reached Rome in the spring of the following year.

Here he spent at least two years in easy confinement, awaiting the decision of his case, and surrounded by friends and fellow-laborers. He preached the gospel to the soldiers of the imperial body-guard, who attended him; wrote letters to his distant churches in Asia Minor and Greece; watched over all their spiritual affairs; and completed in bonds and imprisonment his apostolic fidelity to the church.

5. With the second year of Paul's imprisonment in Rome the account of the Acts breaks off. As to the result of the trial and the close of the apostle's life we are in the dark. A subsequent but not sufficiently clear and reliable tradition says, that he was acquitted on the charge of the Sanhedrim, and after travelling again in the East, and also into Spain, was a second time imprisoned in Rome. This account would relieve many difficulties in his pastoral epistles; but is on other grounds very improbable. Thus much, however, the unanimous testimony of antiquity makes certain: that Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome (during the Neronian persecution, or shortly before), and that, as a Roman citizen, he was put to death by the sword, not, like Peter, by the cross. His readiness for this sealing act of devotion to Christ he himself expresses in his last epistle¹ in the triumphant words: "I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but to all them also, that love his appearing."

Thus ended the earthly course of this great teacher of nations, this apostle of justifying faith and of evangelical freedom. But he yet speaks in his wonderful epistles, which far exceed in value all the classical literature put together, and are to this day, as

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

they have been for eighteen centuries past, an inexhaustible source of instruction and comfort, the richest mine of the doctrines of free grace, an armory against lifeless formalism and mechanical obedience to the letter, and the mightiest lever of evangelical reform and progress in the church.

§ 20. *Collision and Reconciliation of Jewish and Gentile Christianity.*

All the Christians of the first generation were converts from Judaism or heathenism. It could not be expected that they should suddenly lose the influences of opposite kinds of training and the differences of their religious views, and blend at once in unity. It must take an intercommunion of several generations to accomplish such a union. Hence the difference between Jewish and Gentile Christianity throughout the apostolic age, more or less visible in all departments of ecclesiastical life, in missions, doctrine, worship, and government. At the head of the one division stood Peter, the apostle of the circumcision; at the head of the other, Paul, to whom was intrusted the apostleship of the uncircumcision.¹ In another form the same difference even yet appears between the different branches of Christendom. The Catholic church is Jewish-Christian or Petrine in its character; the evangelical is equally Gentile or Pauline. And the individual members of these bodies lean to one or the other of these leading types.

The relation between these two fundamental forms of apostolic Christianity is in general that of authority and freedom, law and gospel, the conservative and the progressive, the objective and the subjective. These antithetic elements are not of necessity mutually exclusive. They are mutually complementary, and for perfect life they must exist in union. But in reality they often run to extremes, and then of course fall into irreconcilable contradiction. Exclusive Jewish Christianity sinks into Ebionism; exclusive Gentile Christianity into Gnosticism.

The Jewish converts at first very naturally adhered as closely

¹ Gal. ii. 7-9.

as possible to the sacred traditions of their fathers. They could not believe that the religion of the Old Testament, revealed by God himself, should pass away. They indeed regarded Jesus as the Saviour of Gentiles as well as Jews; but they thought Judaism the necessary introduction to Christianity, circumcision and the observance of the whole Mosaic law the sole condition of an interest in the Messianic salvation. And, offensive as Judaism was, rather than attractive, to the heathen, this principle would have utterly precluded the conversion of the mass of the Gentile world. The apostles themselves were at first trammelled by this Judaistic prejudice, till taught better by the special revelation to Peter before the conversion of Cornelius.¹

But even after the baptism of the uncircumcised centurion, and Peter's defence of it before the church of Jerusalem,² the old leaven still wrought in many Jewish Christians, especially such as had belonged to the bigoted sect of the Pharisees. These insisted on the observance of the whole ceremonial law as necessary to salvation; while the more liberal Jewish converts, with the Gentile, considered living faith in Jesus Christ sufficient. This difference of opinion produced a feeling between the two leading churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, which became the more dangerous as the conversion of the Gentiles advanced under Paul, and threatened to cast Jewish Christendom into the shade. Envy and jealousy united with religious prejudice, and the infant church was threatened, in only the second decennary of its existence, with a division into two hostile parties.

To avert this calamity, the apostles, elders, and brethren held in Jerusalem, in the year 50, a council, which succeeded in harmonizing the conflicting views.³ At this first ecclesiastical synod, the point in controversy, the import of the Mosaic law, or, in a more general view, the relation of Christianity to Judaism and heathenism, was privately and publicly discussed by the representatives of both parties in the church. The Jewish apostles, Peter and James, and the Gentile apostles, Paul and Barnabas, agreed that faith in Christ is the sole condition of salvation

¹ Acts x. 9-16.

² Acts xi.

³ Acts xv. and Gal. ii.

acknowledged, each party to the other, the peculiar grace and mission intrusted to it by the common Lord; and exchanged the hand of fraternal fellowship. The uncircumcised Gentile Christians, on the motion of James, who, as head of the church of Jerusalem, probably presided in the council, were recognised as full members of the Christian church, but on condition of their abstaining from certain practices particularly offensive to pious Jews, from every form of carnal uncleanness, from eating meat offered to idols, and from tasting blood or strangled animals. These three prohibitions occur among the so-called Noahian precepts, and were also laid on the proselytes of the gate. The council at the same time published this compromise in a pastoral letter to the churches, composed probably by James;¹ and thus, by moderation and mutual concession in the spirit of peace and brotherly love, the first great controversy of the Christian church was happily settled.

Still it must not be supposed, that the difference between the two great divisions of the apostolic church thenceforth entirely disappeared. On the contrary, there was yet a host of Judaizing teachers, who, appealing chiefly, though without sufficient cause, to the authority of James of Jerusalem, continued to overvalue the formal observance of the law, could never rise to the idea of evangelical freedom, hated Paul as a dangerous apostate and revolutionist, and incessantly endeavored to undermine his authority and undo his work in almost all his churches. Nearly every one of his epistles bears witness to this fact, especially the epistles to the Galatians and the Corinthians. Against no errorists does he so often and so earnestly contend, as against these narrow-minded pharisaic Christians, these intolerant slaves of the letter, these "false brethren" of the circumcision.

The temporary inconsistency even of Peter at Antioch, which occurred after the apostolic council, and for which he was so severely reproved by Paul before the assembled congregation, shows how hard it was, under certain circumstances, even for an

¹ Comp. the form of salutation (*χαίρειν*) Acts xv. 23 with James i. 1.

² Gal. ii. 11-21.

apostle, to maintain his more liberal views in the face of the scrupulous Jewish Christians. But the fault he committed on that occasion being only one of practice, not of theory, only a weakness of character, not an error in doctrine, proves nothing against his inspiration and infallibility. This collision, too, was of course only momentary, and could not long interrupt the harmonious coöperation of the apostles. Paul mentions the infirmity of Peter to humble and encourage us; and Peter, who here seems to submit with rare humility to be corrected by a later-called and probably younger colleague, afterwards¹ refers with touching self-denial to the epistles of his "beloved brother Paul," in one of which his own blunder is recorded.

The conflict of Jewish and Gentile, or, if any please, Petrine and Pauline Christianity, continued to agitate the churches, more or less, till the death of the two leading apostles; since the churches were composed mostly of a mixture of circumcised and uncircumcised converts.

Then came the terrible judgment on stiff-necked, unbelieving Judaism, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (A.D. 70), according to the express prediction of Christ.² This blasted for the present all hope of converting the Jewish nation in a mass, and could not but tell effectively on the complete emancipation of the Christian Church from the Jewish economy thus rejected now by God himself.

Meanwhile also a new native Christian generation arose; and thus the greatest national and religious antagonism of the old world disappeared in the unity of the one catholic church of Christ.

This third and last stadium of the apostolic period occupied the last thirty years of the first century, and is represented by the apostle John, who outlived all his colleagues, and accompanied the church to the threshold of the second century. It may therefore be distinguished from the Petrine and Pauline, the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian stadia, as the *Johannean* or, so to speak, the purely Christian age.

¹ 2 Pet. iii. 15.

² Matt. xxiv., etc.

§ 21. *St. John, and the Last Stadium of the Apostolic Period.*

- I. The Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation of JOHN.—IRENÆUS: *Adv. haer.* II. 22. III. 3. V. 30. CLEMENS ALEX.: *Quis dives salvus*, c. 42. TERTULLIAN: *De praescr.* c. 36. EUSEBIUS: *H. E.* III. 18-23. V. 24. JEROME: *Ad Gal.* 6. *De vir. ill.* c. 9. AUGUSTINE: *Tract.* 224 in *Evang. Joann.*
- II. Besides the relevant parts of the works on the Apostolic church mentioned in § 8, see the Commentaries on the writings of John by Calvin, Lampe, Lücke, Olshausen, Tholuck, Luthardt, Düsterdieck, Meyer, De Wette-Brückner, Bloomfield, Alford, &c.; and the works on the Johannean type of doctrine by FROMMANN, *Leipz.* 1839, KÖSTLIN, *Berl.* 1843, REUSS, *Strassb.* 1847, and SCHMID, *Stuttg.* 1853. (See *Lit.* in § 22.)

John, the beloved disciple and bosom friend of Jesus, the great evangelist and seer of the new covenant, the son of thunder and the apostle of love, contemplative, reflective, mystic in spirit, was, during the first stadium of the apostolic church, cast into the shade by the practical, versatile, organizing genius of Peter, but walked by his side in mysterious silence, as if destined for some great work which none of his colleagues could perform. If Peter was appointed by the Lord to lay the foundation of the apostolic church, and Paul to build the main structure thereon, John, the apostle of completion, was to erect the dome, whose top should lose itself in the glory of the new heaven.

His great work was not accomplished till the Lord had called his older colleagues away from the earthly stage of action, and had condemned the obstinate Jewish nation in the destruction of their holy city. After the martyrdom of Paul, John entered into the labors of that apostle in Asia Minor, and made Ephesus the centre of his later ministry, from the Neronian persecution to the end of the first century. During the second Roman persecution under the tyrannical and suspicious Domitian, he was banished in the year 95 to the lonely island of Patmos; and here received and recorded the revelation of the struggles and victories of the church of Christ, down to the new heavens and new earth.

After the accession of Nerva, A.D. 96, the apostle whom Jesus loved, returned to Ephesus, and continued to superintend the

congregations of Asia Minor, to combat false teachers, to rescue the lost, and to hold all the churches together in harmony and love. When too weak to deliver long discourses, the venerable patriarch had himself carried to the place of worship, and preached the sum of all Christianity in the old yet ever new commandment: "Little children, love one another." Love was the centre of his theology, and the theme of his life. The love of God in Christ is with him the root of all doctrine; the love of the redeemed for God and one another, the root of all morality. This last representative of primitive Christianity died not by violence, like most of the other apostles, but in the reign of Trajan (98-117) he fell asleep in the arms of his disciples. A misapprehension of the Saviour's mysterious words: "If I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?"¹ gave rise to the significant legend, that John did not die at all, but is only slumbering, moving the grave-mound with his breath, till the final return of the Lord.

Asia Minor was at that time the principal field on which the Christianity of Peter and Paul was developing itself against persecution without and incipient corruption within; especially against heresy, now clothed in the Judaistic garb of a stiff, narrow legalism and ritualism, now in the wild heathen dress of antinomianism and spiritualism. St. John, originally an apostle of the Jews and the intimate colleague of Peter, afterwards the successor of the Gentile apostle Paul, but surviving both, and contemporary with the third native Christian generation, was admirably qualified to sum up the results of the previous labors, to reconcile the Jewish and Gentile Christianity both in theory and in practice, to give to the church the unity of truth and love, and to secure it thus against all enemies without or within. Through his intimacy with the Lord, his religious depth and fervor, and his large experience, he was best fitted also to complete the literature of the New Testament, and especially to lead the church, by the purest and loftiest exhibition of the life of the incarnate Son of God, to the highest grade of knowledge; and thus at the same

¹ John xxi. 22.

time to furnish the most effectual positive refutation of the rising Ebionistic and Gnostic errors concerning the person and work of Christ, which, like the shades of night, must fly before the sun of truth.

The vigorous life of the Asiatic church in the second century bore witness to this consummating efficiency of John. But the abiding and indestructible monuments of his labors are his writings, in which truth and love, earnestness and mildness, power and meekness, religious depth and childlike simplicity, the boldness of the eagle and the gentleness of the dove, are wonderfully blended, and through which the Christian world enters daily into the inmost sanctuary of the apostolic theology and religion.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTOLIC THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE.

CHRIST. FRIEDR. SCHMID: *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Stuttg. 1853. 2 vols. E. REUSS: *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*. Strassb. 1852. 2 vols. LUTTERBECK (R. C.): *Die N. T. lichen Lehrbegriffe, oder Untersuchungen über das Zeitalter der Religionswende*. Mainz. 1852. 2 vols. MEISSNER: *Die Lehre der Apostel*. Leipz. 1856. G. V. LECHLER: *Das apostolische und nachapost. Zeitalter mit Rücksicht auf Unterschied und Einheit in Lehre und Leben*. 2 Aufl. Stuttg. 1857. Comp. also *Neander, Thiersch, Schaff, Lange*, on the Apostolic Age.

§ 22. *Unity of the Apostolic Doctrine.*

CHRISTIANITY is primarily not merely doctrine, but life, a new divine creation, a saving fact, first personally embodied in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word, the God-man, to spread from him and embrace gradually the whole body of the race, and bring it into saving fellowship with God. The same is true of Christianity as it exists subjectively in single individuals. It begins not with religious views and notions; though it includes these, at least in embryo. It comes as a new life; as regeneration, conversion, and sanctification; as a creative fact in experience, taking up the whole man with all his faculties and capacities, releasing him from the guilt and the power of sin, and reconciling him with God, restoring harmony and peace to the soul, and at last glorifying the body itself. Thus the life of Christ is mirrored in his people, rising gradually, through the use of the means of grace and the continued exercise of faith and love, to its maturity in the resurrection.

But the new life necessarily contains the element of doctrine, or knowledge of the truth. Christ calls himself "the way, the

truth, and the life." He is himself the personal revelation of saving truth, or of the normal relation of man to God. Yet this element of doctrine itself appears in the New Testament, not in the form of an abstract theory, the product of speculation, a scientific system of ideas subject to logical and mathematical demonstration; but as the fresh, immediate utterance of the supernatural, divine life, a life-giving power, equally practical and theoretical, coming with divine authority to the heart, the will, and the conscience, as well as to the mind, and irresistibly drawing them to itself. The knowledge of God in Christ, as it meets us here, is at the same time eternal life.¹

The Bible, therefore, is not only, nor principally, a book for the learned, but a book of life for every one, an epistle written by the Holy Ghost to mankind. In the words of Christ and his apostles there breathes the highest and holiest spiritual power, the vivifying breath of God, piercing bone and marrow, thrilling through the heart and conscience, and quickening the dead. The life, the eternal life, which was from the beginning with the Father, and is manifested to us, there comes upon us, as it were, sensibly, now as the mighty tornado, now as the gentle zephyr; now overwhelming and casting us down in the dust of humility and penitence, now reviving and raising us to the joy of faith and peace; but always bringing forth a new creature, like the word of power, which said at the first creation, "Let there be light!" Here verily is holy ground. Here is the door of eternity, the true ladder to heaven, on which the angels of God are ascending and descending in unbroken line. No number of systems of Christian faith and morals, therefore, indispensable as they are to the scientific purposes of the church and of theology, can ever fill the place of the Bible, whose words are spirit and life.

When we say, the New Testament is no logically arranged system of doctrines and precepts, we are far from meaning that it has no internal order and consistency. On the contrary, it exhibits the most beautiful harmony, like the external crea-

¹ John xvii. 3.

tion, and like a true work of art. It is the very task of the historian, and especially of the theologian, to bring this hidden living order to view, and present it in logical and scientific forms. For this work Paul, the only one of the apostles who received a learned education, himself furnishes the first fruitful suggestions, especially in his epistle to the Romans. This epistle follows a logical arrangement even in form, and approaches as nearly to a scientific treatise as it could consistently with the fervent, direct, practical, popular spirit and style essential to the Holy Scriptures and inseparable from their great mission for all Christendom.

The substance of all the apostolic teaching is the witness of Christ, the gospel, and the free message of that divine love and salvation, which appeared in the person of Christ, were secured to mankind by his work, are gradually realized in the kingdom of God on earth, and will end with the second coming of Christ in glory. This salvation also comes in close connexion with Judaism, as the fulfilment of the law and the prophets, the substance of all the Old Testament types and shadows. The several doctrines entering essentially into this apostolic preaching are most beautifully and simply arranged and presented in what is called the Apostles' Creed, which, though not in its precise form, yet as regards its matter, certainly dates from the primitive age of Christianity. On all the leading points, the person of Jesus as the promised Messiah, his holy life, his atoning death, his triumphant resurrection and exaltation at the right hand of God, and his second coming to judge the world, the establishment of the church as a divine institution, the communion of believers, the word of God, and the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, the work of the Holy Ghost, the necessity of repentance and conversion, of regeneration and sanctification, the final completion of salvation in the day of Jesus Christ, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting,—on all these points the apostles are perfectly unanimous, so far as their writings have come down to us.

The apostles all drew their doctrine in common from personal

contact with the divine-human history of the crucified and risen Saviour, and from the inward illumination of the Holy Ghost, revealing the person and the work of Christ in them, and opening to them his discourses and acts. This divine enlightenment is inspiration, governing not only the composition of the sacred writings, but also the oral instructions of their authors; not merely an act, but a permanent state. The apostles lived and moved continually in the element of truth. They spoke, wrote, and acted from the spirit of truth; and this, not as passive instruments, but as conscious and free organs. For the Holy Ghost does not supersede the gifts and peculiarities of nature, ordained by the Lord; it sanctifies them to the service of the kingdom of God. Inspiration, however, is concerned only with moral and religious truths, and the communication of what is necessary to salvation. Incidental matters of geography, history, archæology, and of mere personal interest, can be regarded as directed by inspiration only so far as they really affect religious truth.

§ 23. *Different Types of the Apostolic Doctrine.*

But with all this harmony, the Christian doctrine appears in the Scriptures in different forms according to the peculiar character, education, and sphere of the several sacred writers. The truth of the gospel, in itself infinite, can adapt itself to every class, to every temperament, every order of talent, and every habit of thought. Like the light of the sun, it breaks into various colors according to the nature of the bodies on which it falls; like the jewel, it emits a new radiance at every turn.

The antithesis of Jewish and Gentile Christianity, which we have already observed in the province of missions, runs through the entire history of the apostolic period. It rests on the great religious division in the ante-Christian world, and to some extent affects even the doctrine, the polity, the worship, and the practical life of the church. The Jewish converts took the Christian faith into intimate association with the divinely revealed religion of the old covenant, and adhered as far as possible to their sacred

institutions and rites; while the heathen converts, not having known the law of Moses, passed at once from the state of nature to the state of grace. The former represented the historical, traditional, conservative principle; the latter, the principle of freedom, independence, and progress.

Accordingly we have two classes of inspired teachers: apostles of the Jews or of the circumcision, and apostles of the Gentiles or of the uncircumcision. That this distinction extends further than the mere missionary field, and in its wide sense enters into all the doctrinal views and practical life of the parties, we see from the accounts of the apostolic council in Acts xv. and Gal. ii., which was held for the express purpose of adjusting the difference respecting the authority of the Mosaic law.

But the opposition was only relative, though it caused collisions at times, and even temporary alienation, as between Paul and Peter at Antioch.¹ As the two forms of Christianity had a common root in the full life of Christ, the Saviour of both Gentiles and Jews, so they gradually grew together into the unity of the catholic church. And as Peter represents the Jewish church, and Paul the Gentile, so John, at the close of the apostolic age, embodies the higher union of the two.

With this are connected subordinate differences, as of temperament, style, &c. James has been distinguished as the apostle of the law; Peter, as the apostle of hope; Paul, as the apostle of faith; and John, as the apostle of love. To the first has been assigned the phlegmatic (?) temperament, in its sanctified Christian state, to the second the sanguine, to the third the choleric, and to the fourth the melancholic; a distribution, however, only admissible in a very limited sense. The four gospels also present similar differences; the first having close affinity to the position of James, the second to that of Peter, the third to that of Paul, and the fourth representing in its doctrinal element the spirit of John.

We may therefore distinguish three types of doctrine, under which all the books of the New Testament may be arranged:

¹ Gal. ii. 11 sqq.

1. The *Jewish-Christian* type, embracing the epistles of Peter, James, and Jude, the gospels of Matthew and Mark, and to some extent the Revelation of John; for John is placed by Paul² among the "pillars" of the church of the circumcision, though in his later writings he took an independent position above the distinction of Jew and Gentile. In these books, originally designed mainly, though not exclusively, for Jewish-Christian readers, Christianity is exhibited in its unity with the Old Testament, as the fulfilment of the law and the prophets.

James, looking particularly at its element of law, conceives it as the "perfect law of liberty," thus plainly enough distinguishing it, at the same time, from the imperfect law of bondage. He accordingly lays great stress on good works, presupposing, however, faith and the new birth.

Peter brings out more fully the prophetic and christological character of the gospel, and forms the transition from James to Paul. Christianity is, in his view, the fulfilment indeed of all Messianic prophecies, but at the same time itself a prophecy, cherishing the patient and joyful hope of the glorious return of the Lord and the appearance of the new heavens and new earth. This prophetic element comes out most freely in the Apocalypse.

2. The *Gentile-Christian* theology of Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles; including, with his own writings, the third gospel and the book of Acts by his disciple Luke, and the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews. Here Christianity is apprehended in its absolute and universal character, as a new creation, as life and freedom, as justification and saving fellowship of faith and love with the heavenly Father; though without prejudice to the divine character of Judaism as a needful preparatory dispensation. This theology especially lays down the doctrine of justification by faith as its corner-stone, in opposition to the legal righteousness and self-complacency of Jews and Judaizers. Justification Paul regards as a free act of divine grace, whereby the sinner, for the sake of the merits of Christ, and on condition of a living faith, which apprehends and appropriates Christ, is

² Gal. ii.

acquitted of all guilt, received to the place of a child, and transformed into a new creature, so that henceforth, being dead to sin, he lives in Christ and Christ in him, to the glory of God. This creative power of free grace the apostle had so wonderfully experienced in his own sudden conversion, that he made it ever after the great burden of his preaching.

3. The perfect *unity of Jewish and Gentile Christianity* meets us in the writings of John, in his doctrines of the absolute love of God in the incarnation of the eternal Logos, and of brotherly love, resting on this divine foundation. This theology, though in principle the most profound and ideal, is far less developed, logically and dialectically, than that of Paul. John speaks from immediate intuition, and testifies of that which his own eyes have seen, his ears heard, and his hands handled; of the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, which shone, full of grace and truth, through the veil of his humanity. He deals in few but colossal ideas and antitheses, as light and darkness, love and hatred, life and death; which he sets before us in simple, childlike style, artless, but sublime. He looks out over the great conflict of Christ and antichrist to the eternal victory of the truth and love of him who is the way, the truth, and the life, the beginning and the end. His knowledge and his representation of Christ anticipate that "seeing face to face," into which, according to St. Paul, our partial knowledge, and faith itself, must finally pass.

These three types of doctrine together exhibit Christianity in the whole fulness of its life; and they form the theme for the variations of the succeeding ages of the church. But Christ is the key-note, harmonizing all the discords and resolving all the mysteries of the history of his kingdom.

§ 24. *Heretical Perversions of the Apostolic Doctrine.*

This heavenly body of apostolic truth is confronted with the ghost of heresy, as were the divine miracles of Moses with the satanic juggleries of the Egyptians. The more mightily the spirit of truth rises, the more active becomes the spirit of falsehood.

But in the hands of Providence all errors in the history of the church must redound to the unfolding and the glorious victory of the truth. Thus they are in history relatively necessary and negatively justifiable; though the teachers of them are, of course, not therefore guiltless. "It must needs be, that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh."

The heresies of the apostolic age are, respectively, the caricatures of the several types of the true doctrine. Accordingly we distinguish three fundamental forms of heresy, which reappear, with various modifications, in almost every subsequent period. In this respect, as in others, the apostolic period stands as the type of the whole future; and the exhortations and warnings of the New Testament against false doctrine have force for every age.

1. The JUDAIZING tendency, the heretical counterpart of Jewish Christianity, so insists on the unity of Christianity with Judaism, as to sink the former to the level of the latter, and make the gospel merely a perfected law. It regards Christ also as a mere prophet, a second Moses; and denies, or at least wholly overlooks, his priestly and kingly offices, and his divine nature in general. The Judaizers were Jews in reality, and Christians only in appearance and in name. They held circumcision and the whole moral and ceremonial law of Moses to be still binding, and the observance of them necessary to salvation. Of Christianity as a new, free, and universal religion, they had no conception. Hence they hated Paul, the liberal apostle of the Gentiles, as a dangerous apostate and revolutionist, impugned his motives, and everywhere, especially in Galatia and Corinth, labored to undermine his authority in the churches. The epistles of Paul, especially that to the Galatians, can never be properly understood, unless their opposition to this false Jewish Christianity be continually kept in view.

The same heresy, more fully developed, appears in the second century under the name of *Ebionism*.

2. The opposite extreme is a false Gentile Christianity, which may be called the PAGANIZING or Gnostic heresy. This exaggerates

rates the Pauline view of the distinction of Christianity from Judaism, sunders Christianity from its historical basis, resolves the real humanity of the Saviour into a Docetistic illusion, and perverts the freedom of the gospel into antinomian licentiousness. The author of this baptized heathenism, according to the uniform testimony of Christian antiquity, is Simon Magus,¹ who unquestionably adulterated Christianity with pagan ideas and practices, and gave himself out, in pantheistic style, for an emanation of God. Plain traces of this error appear in the later epistles of Paul (to the Colossians, to Timothy, and to Titus), the second epistle of Peter, the first two epistles of John, the epistle of Jude, and the messages of the Apocalypse to the seven churches.

This heresy, in the second century, spread over the whole church, east and west, in the various schools of *Gnosticism*.

3. As attempts had already been made, before Christ, by Philo, by the Therapeutæ and the Essenes, &c., to blend the Jewish religion with heathen philosophy, especially that of Pythagoras and Plato, so now, under the Christian name, there appeared confused combinations of these opposite systems, forming either a PAGANIZING JUDAISM, i. e. Gnostic Ebionism, or a JUDAIZING PAGANISM, i. e. Ebionistic Gnosticism, according as the Jewish or the heathen element prevailed. This SYNCRETISTIC heresy was the satanic caricature of John's theology, which truly reconciled Jewish and Gentile Christianity in the highest conception of the person and work of Christ. The errors combated in the later books of the New Testament are almost all more or less of this mixed sort, and it is often doubtful whether they come from Judaism or from heathenism.

Whatever their differences, however, all these three fundamental heresies amount at last to a more or less distinct denial of the central mystery of the gospel—the incarnation of the Son of God for the salvation of the world. They make Christ either a mere man, or a mere superhuman phantom; they allow, at all events, no real and abiding union of the divine and human natures in the person of the Redeemer. This is just what John gives as

¹ Acts viii.

the mark of antichrist,¹ which existed even in his day in various forms. It plainly undermines the foundation of the church. For if Christ be not God-man in the full sense, and that permanently, neither is he mediator between God and men; Christianity sinks back into heathenism or Judaism, and our hope fails. All turns at last on the answer to that fundamental question: "What think ye of Christ?" The true solution of this question is the radical refutation of every error.

§ 25. *Rise of the Apostolic Literature.*

Comp. the historico-critical Introductions to the New Testament by HUG, DE WETTE, CREDNER, REUSS, GUERICKE, HORNE, DAVIDSON, TREGELLES, &c., and the above cited commentaries on the apostolic writings. Also THIERSCH: Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunktes für die Kritik der N. Tlichen Schriften. Erl. 1845. EBRARD: Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evang. Gesch. 2d ed. Erl. 1850.

Christ wrote nothing; but is himself the book of life to be read by all. His religion is not an outward letter of command, like the law of Moses, but free, quickening spirit; not a literary production, but a moral creation; not a new system of theology or philosophy for the learned, but the communication of the divine life to human nature for the redemption of the whole world. Christ is the personal Word of God, the eternal Logos, made flesh and dwelling upon earth as the true Shekinah, in the veiled glory of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. He spoke; and all the words of his mouth were, and still are, spirit and life.² The human heart craves not a learned, letter-writing, literary Christ, but a wonder-working, cross-bearing, atoning Redeemer, risen, enthroned in heaven, and ruling the world; yet furnishing, at the same time, to men and angels an inexhaustible theme of holy thoughts, discourses, writings, and songs of praise.

So, too, the Lord chose none of his apostles, with the single exception of Paul, from the ranks of the learned; he did not

¹ 1 John ii. 22; iv. 1-3.

² John vi. 63

train them to literary authorship, nor give them, throughout his earthly life, a single express command to labor in that way. Plain fishermen of Galilee, unskilled in the wisdom of this world, but filled with the Holy Spirit of truth and the powers of the world to come, were commissioned to preach the glad tidings of salvation to all nations in the strength and in the name of their glorified Master, who sits on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and has promised to be with them to the end of time.

The gospel, accordingly, was first propagated and the church founded by the personal oral teaching and exhortation, the "preaching," "testimony," "word," "tradition," of the apostles and their disciples; as, in fact, to this day the living word is the indispensable means of promoting the Christian religion. Nearly all the books of the New Testament were written between the years 50 and 70, at least twenty years after the resurrection of Christ, and the founding of the church; and the writings of John still later.

As the apostles' field of labor expanded, it became too large for their personal attention, and required epistolary correspondence. The vital interests of Christianity, also, and the wants of coming generations, demanded a faithful record of the life and teachings of Christ by perfectly reliable witnesses. For oral tradition, among fallible men, is subject to so many accidental changes, that it loses in certainty and credibility as its distance from the fountain-head increases, till at last it can no longer be clearly distinguished from the additions and corruptions collected upon it. There was danger, too, of a wilful distortion of the history and doctrine of Christianity by Judaizing and paganizing errorists, who had already raised their heads during the lifetime of the apostles. An authentic written record of the words and acts of Jesus and his disciples was therefore absolutely indispensable, not indeed to originate the church, but to maintain it, and to keep Christianity pure.

Hence seven and twenty books by apostles and apostolic men, written under the special direction of the Holy Ghost, who filled the authors from the day of Pentecost. These afford us a

truthful and complete picture of the history, the faith, and the practice of primitive Christianity, "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."¹

The collection of these writings into a canon, in distinction both from apocryphal or pseudo-apostolic works, and from orthodox yet merely human productions, was the business of the early church; and in performing it she was likewise guided by the Spirit of God and by an unerring sense of truth. It was not finished to the satisfaction of all till the end of the fourth century, down to which time seven New Testament books (the "Antilegomena" of Eusebius), the second epistle of Peter, the second and third epistles of John, the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews, the epistles of James and Jude, and in a certain sense also the Apocalypse of John, were by some considered of questionable authorship or value. But the collection was no doubt begun, on the model of the Old Testament canon, in the first century;² and the principal books, the Gospels, the Acts, the thirteen epistles of Paul, the first epistle of Peter, and the first of John, in a body, were in general use in the second century, and were read, either entire or by sections, in public worship, after the manner of the Jewish synagogue, for the edification of the people.

§ 26. *Character of the New Testament.*

In these inspired writings we have a true and constant substitute for the personal presence and the oral instruction of Christ and his apostles. The written word differs from the spoken only in form; the substance is the same, and has therefore the same authority and quickening power for us as it had for those who heard it first. Although these books were called forth apparently by special occasions, and were primarily addressed to particular circles of readers and adapted to particular circumstances, yet, as they present the eternal and unchangeable truth in living forms, they suit all circumstances and all times. Hence they are to this day not only the sole reliable and pure fountain of primi-

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16.

² Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 16, where a collection of Paul's epistles is implied.

tive Christianity, but also the infallible rule of Christian faith and practice. From this fountain the church has drunk the water of life for more than fifty generations, and will drink it till the end of time. In this rule she has a perpetual corrective for all her faults, and a protective against all error. Theological systems come and go, and draw from that inexhaustible treasury their larger or smaller additions to the stock of our knowledge of the truth; but they can never equal that universal word of God, which abideth for ever.

The New Testament evinces its catholic design in its very style, which alone distinguishes it from all the literary productions of earlier and later times. The language is the Hellenistic idiom; that is, the Macedonian Greek as spoken by the Jews of the dispersion in the time of Christ; uniting, in a regenerated Christian form, the two great antagonistic nationalities and religions of the ancient world. The most beautiful language of heathendom and the venerable language of the Jews are here combined, baptized with the spirit of Christianity, and made the picture of silver for the golden apple of the eternal truth of the gospel. And indeed the style of the Bible in general is singularly adapted to men of every class and grade of culture, affording the child the simple nourishment for its religious wants, and the profoundest thinker inexhaustible matter of study. The Bible is not simply a popular book, but a book of all nations and for all societies, classes, and conditions of men.

The New Testament presents, in its way, the same union of the divine and human natures, as the person of Christ. In this sense also "the word is made flesh, and dwells among us." The Bible is thoroughly human (though without error) in contents and form, in the mode of its rise, its compilation, its preservation, and transmission; yet at the same time thoroughly divine both in its thoughts and words, in its origin, vitality, energy, and effect, and beneath the human servant-form of the letter the eye of faith discerns the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.¹

¹ Comp. § 22.

The apostolic writings are of three kinds: historical, didactic, and prophetic. To the first class belong the Gospels and Acts; to the second, the Epistles; to the third, the Revelation. They are related to each other as regeneration, sanctification, and glorification; as foundation, house, and dome. Jesus Christ is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all. In the Gospels he walks in human form upon the earth, and accomplishes the work of redemption. In the Acts and Epistles he founds the church, and fills and guides it by his Spirit. And at last, in the visions of the Apocalypse, he comes again in glory, and with his bride, the church of the saints, reigns for ever upon the new earth and in the city of God.

§ 27. *The Gospels*

The four canonical gospels, or more precisely, the four representations of the one gospel,¹ pretend not to be full biographies of Jesus, but aim to give only a selection of the characteristic features of his life and works, for the practical purpose of leading their readers to living faith in him as the promised Messiah and Saviour of the world.² This they do in perfectly simple, unadorned, straightforward, and purely objective style. The authors, in noble modesty and self-denial, entirely suppress their personal views and feelings, retire in worshipful silence before their great subject, and strive to set it forth in all its own power to subdue, without human aid, every truth-loving and penitent heart.

The first and fourth gospels were composed by the apostles Matthew and John; the second and third, under the influence of Peter and Paul, and by their immediate disciples, Mark and Luke, so as to be likewise of apostolic origin and canonical authority.

These works have their common source in the personal intercourse of the authors with Christ, and in the oral tradition of the apostles and other eye-witnesses. The tradition, being constantly repeated in public worship and in private circles, assumed a fixed, stereotyped form; the more readily, on account of the

¹ τετραέβανον εγγύλιον as Irenæus calls it. ² Comp. John xx. 30, 31; xxi. 25.

reverence of the first disciples for every word of their divine Master. Hence the striking agreement of the first three, or synoptical gospels, which, in matter and form, are only variations of the same theme. Luke used, besides the oral tradition, written documents on certain parts of the life of Jesus,¹ which doubtless appeared early among the first disciples. It is not improbable that the gospel of Mark, the confidant of Peter, is not only a faithful copy of the gospel preached and otherwise communicated by this apostle, but also rests on Hebrew records which Peter may have made from time to time under the impression of the events themselves.

But with all their similarity in matter and style, each of the Gospels, above all the fourth, has its peculiarities, answering to the personal character of its author, its special design, and the circumstances of its readers. The several evangelists present the infinite fulness of the life and person of Jesus in different aspects and different relations to mankind; and they complete each other. The symbolical poesy of the church compares them with the four cherubic representatives of the creation, assigning the man to Matthew, the lion to Mark, the ox to Luke, and the eagle to John. The apparent contradictions of these narratives sufficiently solve themselves on close examination, at least in all essential points, and serve only to attest the honesty, impartiality, and credibility of the authors.

The Gospel of MATTHEW was written in Palestine, for Jewish-Christian readers, and probably first in the Aramaic language. It exhibits Christ as the last and greatest prophet and lawgiver, the fulfiller of the Old Testament, the Messiah and King of the true Israel. It follows rather a topical than a chronological arrangement, grouping together the kindred acts and discourses of Jesus; as in the sermon on the mount, ch. v. and vii., the parables of ch. xiii., the discourses against the Pharisees, ch. xxiii., the prophecies of the second coming, ch. xxiv. and xxv. It is not a mere narrative of facts, but at the same time a historical argument for the Mes-

¹ Luke i. 1-4.

siahship of Jesus of Nazareth ; and hence everywhere points out the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies in his life. It is in some sense the fundamental Gospel, the giving of the perfect law of the new covenant (comp. especially the sermon on the mount), and thus the evangelical counterpart to the Pentateuch of the Old Testament.

The Gospel of MARK, according to Eusebius, was composed at Rome and for Roman readers. It omits the longer discourses of Jesus, and sets him forth, in fresh and graphic sketches interwoven with many small but characteristic incidents, as the Son of God, the mighty wonder-worker, and the victorious Lion of the tribe of Judah. It forms the transition from the first or Jewish-Christian Gospel, to the third or Gentile-Christian ; as the Epistles of Peter stand, in regard to doctrine, between those of James and those of Paul.

The Gospel of LUKE was plainly designed primarily and mainly for Gentile-Christian readers, and everywhere betrays the faithful disciple and companion of Paul, at whose side, most probably during his imprisonment at Caesarea and in Rome, between 60 and 64, it was written. It carefully observes chronological order, and loves to give prominence to the universal character of Christianity. It traces the genealogy of Jesus to Adam, the father of all men. It makes mention of the seventy disciples, who represent the heathen world, as the twelve apostles represent the Jewish. It gives the story of the good Samaritan, who shamed the priest and the Levite ; the parables of the lost sheep, the prodigal son, the pharisee and publican ; all setting in the clearest light the doctrine of free, unmerited grace, in opposition to the pride of the Jews in their law, and to the self-righteousness of the Pharisees. Luke portrays Jesus as the ever ready and able physician of body and soul ; the shepherd seeking the wandering sheep ; the compassionate friend of all sinners, breaking down the wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles.

The Gospel of JOHN, the beloved disciple of the Lord, was produced last of all, at Ephesus, probably not till after the destruction of Jerusalem. Its plan is altogether peculiar. It is at

once a most welcome complement to the other Gospels, and an independent organic whole. The synoptical evangelists present chiefly the labors of Jesus in Galilee and among the common people; his miracles, his popular, practical, parabolic, and sententious discourses on the new law and the kingdom of heaven. John depicts Jesus in Judaea, among the Pharisees and Scribes; passes over most of his miraculous cures, but relates the greatest of the miracles, the turning of water into wine and the raising of Lazarus; and communicates with special care the profound metaphysical discourses of the Lord on his person and his relation to the Father, to his disciples, and to the world. He says nothing of the outward form of the church; the name does not once occur in his writings. He omits even the institution of the sacraments. But instead he unfolds to us the spiritual and eternal essence of the church, the vital union of believers with Christ, and their consequent fellowship with one another in brotherly love; and gives the discourses of Jesus on the spiritual baptism of regeneration,¹ and on the inmost essence of the holy supper, the mystical, spiritual participation of his flesh and blood, his truly human life by a living faith.² The synoptical evangelists set forth the deified humanity, John the incarnate divinity, of the same Saviour. The former ascend from the Son of Man to the Son of God, and follow their hero from his birth in the stable at Bethlehem, through his mighty works and fearful passion, to the right hand of the Father, where, in reward of his labor, "all power is given unto him in heaven and in earth." The latter begins with the eternal Son of God, and traces him downwards through the creation and the preparatory steps of his revelation to his incarnation, nay, to his extreme humiliation on the cross, whence he again takes possession of the glory which he had with the Father before the world was.

The Gospel of John is pre-eminently the spiritual and ideal, though at the same time most truly real gospel, pervaded with an irresistible charm both for the inquiring mind and for the loving heart. It breathes the peaceful air of eternity, yet betrays

¹ Ch. iii.² Ch. vi.

the power of the "son of thunder;" it is sublime as a seraph and simple as a child, bold as an eagle and gentle as a lamb; high as the heavens and deep as the sea. It unites in fairest harmony the deepest knowledge and the purest love of Christ. It lifts the veil from the holy of holies of the evangelical history, and shows us the beating heart of the God-man, that we may exclaim with Thomas in holy joy and adoration: "My Lord, and my God!"

Truly, such a life-picture could come only from the bosom friend of Jesus, who had drunk deep from the fountain of eternal truth and love.

§ 28. *The Acts of the Apostles.*

The book of Acts, though placed by the ancient ecclesiastical division not in the "Gospel," but in the "Apostle," is a direct continuation of the third Gospel, by the same author, and addressed to the same Theophilus, probably a distinguished Roman. It presents the progress of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome; the planting of the church among the Jews by Peter, and among the Gentiles by Paul. It begins with the ascension of Christ, or his accession to his throne, and the founding of his kingdom by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost; it closes with the joyful preaching of the apostle of the Gentiles in the capital of the then known world; the event which substantially decided the victory of Christianity in the earth. To this objective representation of the progress of the church, the subjective and biographical features of the work altogether yield. Before Peter, the hero of the first or Jewish-Christian division, and Paul, the hero of the second or Gentile-Christian part, the other apostles quite retire; and the lives of even these two appear in the history only so far as they are connected with the missionary work. In this view the long-received title of the book, added by some other hand than the author's, is not altogether correct.

Luke, the faithful pupil and companion of Paul, was eminently fitted to produce this first church history. For the first part he had the aid not only of oral tradition, but also, no doubt, of Palestinian documents, as in preparing his gospel. Of most of

the events in the second part he was eye-witness. Probably he began the work during the confinement of Paul in Caesarea, and under his eye; and finished it during the apostle's imprisonment in Rome, A.D. 63 or 64. For with this last scene he suddenly breaks off, without informing us of the subsequent fortunes of Paul. Perhaps he intended to continue his history over the third and last stadium of the missionary work of the apostolic church; but for this period we now have only the last epistles of Paul, and the restored writings of John.

§ 29. *The Catholic Epistles.*

The seven catholic or general epistles, which in the old manuscripts immediately follow the Acts, are so named from their encyclical character. Excepting the second and third epistles of John, they are addressed, not to a single person or congregation, but to a larger circle of readers, and are therefore much more free from personal and especial references than the epistles of Paul. The epistle to the Hebrews, also, is of the same sort, though it is not reckoned among the Catholic epistles.

The Epistle of JAMES the Just, the brother of Jesus (to be distinguished from James the Elder, the son of Zebedee, and probably also from James the Less, the son of Alphaeus), was written, no doubt, at Jerusalem, the metropolis of the ancient theocracy and of Jewish Christianity, where the author labored and died at the head of the Christian congregation. It was addressed to the Jewish Christians of the dispersion, earnestly exhorting them to practical Christianity and active faith, warning them against dead orthodoxy, covetousness, pride, and worldliness, and comforting them in view of present and approaching trials and persecutions from the unbelieving Jews. James's doctrine of justification by faith and Christian works seems at first to contradict Paul's doctrine of justification by free grace through faith without the deeds of the law. But they only use terms on this subject in somewhat different senses, as they present different aspects of the same truth against opposite errors, and thus really complete and guard each other.

The FIRST Epistle of PETER, dated from Babylon,¹ belongs to the later life of the apostle, when his ardent natural temper was deeply humbled, softened, and sanctified by the work of grace. It was written to churches in several provinces of Asia Minor, composed of Jewish and Gentile Christians together, and planted mainly by Paul and his fellow-laborers; and was sent by the hands of Silvanus, a former companion of Paul. It consists of precious consolations, and exhortations to a holy walk after the example of Christ, to joyful hope of the heavenly inheritance, to patience under the persecutions already raging or impending. It attests also the essential agreement of Peter with the doctrine of the Gentile apostle, in which the readers had been before instructed.²

The SECOND Epistle of PETER was addressed, shortly before the author's death, as a sort of last will and testament, to the same churches as the first. It contains a renewed assurance of his agreement with his "beloved brother Paul," to whose epistles he most respectfully refers.³ As he himself receives in one of those epistles of Paul a sharp reproof for inconsistency,⁴ this honorable allusion to them proves how thoroughly the Spirit of Christ had through experience trained him to humility, meekness, and self-denial. The epistle elsewhere earnestly warns the Christians against antinomian and licentious false teachers, and exhorts them to prepare for the final advent of the Lord. The genuineness of this epistle is not so strongly and unequivocally supported as that of the first; and Eusebius counted it among the seven *Antilegomena* of the New Testament. But it contains nothing which Peter might not have written; it is rather a worthy valedictory of the apostle awaiting his martyrdom, and with its still valid warnings against internal dangers from false Christianity, it forms a suitable complement to the first epistle, which comforts the Christians amidst external dangers from heathen and Jewish persecutors

¹ Chap. v. 13, by which the ancient fathers understand heathen, persecuting Rome as in the Apocalypse.

² Chap. v. 12.

³ Chap. iii. 15, 16.

⁴ Gal. ii. 11 sqq.

The short Epistle of JUDE, a brother of James the Just, is very much the same, in contents, with the second Epistle of Peter, and seems to have been written to the same churches and against the same Gnostic errorists. It belongs also among the Antilegomena.

The FIRST Epistle of JOHN betrays throughout, in thought and style, the author of the fourth gospel. It is a circular letter of the venerable apostle to his beloved children in Asia Minor, exhorting them to a holy life of faith and love in Christ, and earnestly warning them against the Gnostic "antichrists," already existing or to come, who deny the mystery of the incarnation, sunder religion from morality, and run into antinomian practices.

The SECOND and THIRD Epistles of JOHN are, like the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, short private letters, one to a Christian woman by the name of Cyria, the other to one Gaius, probably an officer of a congregation in Asia Minor. Though they belong to the Antilegomena, yet they have no internal marks of spuriousness. On the contrary, the second epistle resembles the first, almost to verbal repetition,¹ and such repetition well agrees with the familiar tradition of Jerome concerning the apostle of love, ever exhorting the congregation, in his advanced age, to love one another. The difference of opinion in the ancient church respecting them may have risen partly from their private nature and their brevity; and partly from the fact, that the author styles himself, somewhat remarkably, the "elder," the "presbyter." This term, however, is probably to be taken, not in the official sense, but in the original, signifying age and dignity; for at that time John was in fact a venerable father in Christ, and must have been revered and loved as a patriarch among his "little children."

§ 30. *The Epistles of Paul.*

Compare the literature given at § 19.

In the field of Christian doctrine and literature, as well as elsewhere, Paul has "labored more than all" the other apostles

¹ Comp. 2 John 4-7 with 1 John ii. 7, 8, iv. 2, 3.

From him we have thirteen epistles, some to congregations, others to individuals, all together affording us at once a complete view of the whole plan of redemption, and a clear insight into the apostle's own inner life and the condition of his churches. These epistles compress into a few pages an amazing fund of religious thought and feeling, which has already nourished the Christian world for nearly two thousand years, and still yields new treasures on every fresh examination. They are without a parallel in the history of ancient or modern literature. We look in vain for a similar series of epistles of the same compass and significance. They reflect the deepest struggles and conflicts of the writer and his age, and yet they rise far above them all in the triumphant vigor of faith. They reveal a mind profoundly agitated, and yet profoundly calm, clear, sound, and serene.

Paul's writings are all tracts of the times and for the times, and yet for all times, yea for eternity. They grapple with the concrete realities of his congregations, but in such a manner as to make them the occasion for the discussion of the highest truths and the solution of the deepest problems that challenge the attention of every age and congregation. They are all pastoral letters, beginning with the apostolic salutation, and a thanksgiving to God for his gracious deeds in the churches concerned, and closing with personal intelligence, greetings, benediction, and doxology; while the body of the letters consists of didactic expositions and corresponding practical exhortations, warnings, and encouragements. The style is original throughout, full of force and life, and with its skilful arguments, bold antitheses, eloquent figures, sudden turns, startling questions and exclamations, and even with its occasional grammatical harshness and irregularity, faithfully represents the commanding power and overflowing fulness of the apostle's mind and heart. His words are as many warriors rushing on to victory. They strike like lightning, by their zigzag impetuosity, every projecting point, and instantaneously attain the goal. But the fiery zeal of the polemic is always under the control of sober reflection, and the roar of battle is lost at times, as in 1 Cor. xiii. in the celestial harmony of eternal love and peace.

We notice the several Epistles in their most probable chronological order.

1. A.D. 53. The FIRST Epistle to the THESSALONIANS was written at Corinth shortly after Paul's first visit to the commercial city of Thessalonica in Macedonia, and the planting of the Christian congregation there. It was intended particularly to meet certain misapprehensions of his preaching respecting the glorious return of Christ.

2. A.D. 53 or 54. The SECOND Epistle to the THESSALONIANS was sent from the same place on the same subject, with further instruction respecting the appearing of Christ and preceding development of the "man of sin" and the "mystery of iniquity," and with suitable exhortations to sober, orderly, diligent, and prayerful conduct. It is remarkable, that, in these very churches, where Christianity bloomed so beautifully in its first love, the mystery of anti-Christian iniquity first appeared; not, however, to reach its maturity till the last times of the church.

3. A.D. 57. The FIRST Epistle to the CORINTHIANS was composed in Ephesus, shortly before Paul's departure, about Easter, 57. It is more ethical and pastoral than dogmatic and theological, and gives us a graphic picture of the lights and shades of a Grecian church, rich in extraordinary gifts of grace, but troubled by the spirit of sect and party, infected with the desire for worldly wisdom, with scepticism, and with moral levity, nay, to some extent polluted with gross vices, so that the apostle in his absence found himself compelled to excommunicate in form a particularly offensive member.

4. A.D. 57. The SECOND EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS was written from Macedonia shortly before the author's intended personal visit to the metropolis of Achaia. It evidently comes from a heart deeply agitated and anxious for the welfare of its spiritual children, and opens to us very freely the personal character and feelings, the official trials and joys, the noble pride and deep humility, the holy earnestness and fervent love, of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

5. A.D. 56-58. The Epistle to the GALATIANS was written after Paul's second visit to them, during or after his long residence in Ephesus (54-57); and was occasioned by the machinations of hostile Judaizers. In righteous indignation against these pseudo-evangelists and troublers of the church, the apostle vindicates first his apostolic dignity, and then his doctrines of justification by grace through living faith, and of evangelical freedom in Christ. This Epistle is thus an apology for the author himself and for his cause, and forms a most decided protest against all legalistic, ritualistic, and hierarchical errors within the Christian church; the exegetical bulwark, so to speak, of evangelical Protestantism.

6. A.D. 58. A little while before his last journey to Jerusalem, Paul sent from Corinth by the deaconess Phoebe a letter to the Christian congregation in the capital of the world. This church, with which he was as yet personally unacquainted, but which he hoped soon to visit, had been founded a considerable time before, as it would seem, by disciples of Peter and Paul, and attained afterwards, partly through its situation, partly through the personal labors and martyrdom of the two leading apostles there, a vast importance and influence in western Christendom.

To this eminence of the congregation at Rome, the Epistle to the ROMANS corresponds. It is unquestionably the most important doctrinal book of the New Testament, and justly stands at the head of the Epistles of Paul. It most completely and clearly unfolds the evangelical doctrines of sin and grace, of justification and sanctification, of faith and good works, of peace and sonship with God, and boldly, yet reverently unveils, in part, the mysteries of the predestination and calling of Jews and Gentiles to the Gospel salvation. It is remarkable, that this thoroughly evangelical Epistle was written to the mother congregation of that Roman church, which in her subsequent development has wandered so far from its soteriological doctrines into Jewish legalism and ritualistic form.

7-10. A.D. 61-63, during his confinement at Rome, the venerable servant of Christ composed the four Epistles to the COLOS

SIANS, EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS, and PHILEMON. The first three are as important for the Christology and ecclesiology of Paul, as the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans for his anthropology and soteriology. The short private letter to Philemon exhibits his characteristic love and courtesy, and his position towards the slavery of that day.

11-13. The three pastoral epistles to TIMOTHY and TITUS afford no such internal marks of their date as the ten epistles thus far mentioned, and have left room for very different views as to the year of their composition. If we accept the tradition of a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome, we shall best put the FIRST Epistle to TIMOTHY and the Epistle to TITUS between the first and second imprisonments, and shall thus seem to reach the most natural solution of some difficult passages of these epistles. But if we reject that tradition, we must take the year 56 or 57 as the most probable date of these two epistles; since, from the allusions in 2 Cor. xii. 13, 14, and xiii. 1, Paul most probably, during his three years' residence in Ephesus 54-57, made a second journey to Corinth, not noticed in the Acts, meantime visiting Crete, and leaving Titus in charge of the churches there. The SECOND Epistle to TIMOTHY was evidently written while Paul was in confinement in Rome, whether the first time or a second, and was the last of all his epistles. For the author is distinctly expecting the speedy close of his good fight of faith, and the crown of righteousness from the hand of his master.¹

The three pastoral epistles are more personal and confidential in their character than those addressed to churches; and this fact explains many of their peculiarities. They contain Paul's pastoral theology; a practical introduction to the founding, training, and care of congregations, and to the proper treatment of individual souls, of old and young, of widows and virgins, of backsliders and heretics. They are, therefore, of special value for their hints respecting the pastoral office and the organization of the church in the apostolic age.

¹ Comp. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

14. Finally, the Epistle to the HEBREWS, composed unquestionably before the destruction of Jerusalem, probably between the years 62 and 64, is also reckoned among the Pauline books. It is anonymous, indeed; its Greek is more pure and elegant than that of Paul's epistles; its mode of handling the Christian doctrine is somewhat different; and in ch. ii. 3, it seems to betray the hand of a disciple of the apostles, rather than of an eye-witness of the life of Jesus. It is a settled fact, too, that the early western church, after it became acquainted with this epistle, for a considerable time attributed it not to Paul, but either to an anonymous author, or, as Tertullian at least did, to Barnabas. Yet, on the other hand, the epistle stands so completely on Pauline ground, particularly in regard to the relation of Christianity to Judaism; it is so uncommonly rich and full of the unction of the spirit, and it teaches and exhorts with such a tone of authority, that we cannot be satisfied to ascribe it even to a disciple of Paul, like Luke, or Apollos, or Clement, without allowing the great apostle of the Gentiles at least an indirect concern with its contents, though not with its literary form. This view has firm support in the tradition of the eastern church, for which the epistle was intended, and which has honored it from the first as a genuine production of Paul; though the Alexandrian fathers allowed Luke a hand in the style, or considered him the translator of a supposed Hebrew original. At all events the epistle is plainly a genial product of the Pauline spirit, and of the creative energy of primitive Christianity, and is therefore altogether worthy of its place in the canon.

The Epistle to the Hebrews gives us the true conception of the relation of the New Testament to the Old, and unfolds the doctrine of the priestly office and eternal sacrifice of Christ for the reconciliation of the world. Its doctrinal expositions, however, are interwoven throughout with pathetic admonitions and precious consolations. The author demonstrates to the Jewish Christians of Palestine and the whole east the infinite superiority of Christianity to Judaism, and thus warns them of the danger

of apostasy, to which many were tempted in those times of persecution and distress. It presents the old Testament, the whole Levitical priesthood and sacrificial system, as a symbol of the "good things" of Christianity, a shadow, of which the gospel is the substance. It refers to the Mosaic economy as still existing, but in process of decay, and looks forward to the fearful judgment, which a few years later destroyed the temple for ever. This epistle, like those to the Colossians and Philippians, from its eminently christological character, forms, theologically, a stepping-stone to the writings of John.

§ 31. *The Revelation of John.*

The revelation of Christ by his servant John respecting the future trials and triumphs of his kingdom, forms the third or prophetic part of the apostolic literature. It stands as a mysterious seal at the close of the New Testament, which, without such a book, would be as incomplete as the Old Testament without the prophecies of Daniel. It links the apostolic beginning of the kingdom of Christ with its glorious completion in the new heavens and upon the new earth.

It was seen in the Spirit and recorded at the divine command during the banishment of John on Patmos, towards the end of the reign of Domitian, about the year 95; not under Nero or Galba, as many modern critics, merely on internal grounds, assume, against the express testimony of Irenaeus and all ancient tradition. It differs considerably from the other writings of John in its strongly Hebraistic mode of thought and expression; though in other respects it strikingly resembles them. The difference arises partly from the nature of the subject, which required something like the symbolical and figurative, antique and stately language of a Zechariah, an Ezekiel, or a Daniel; partly from the ecstatic state of the writer,¹ in which he wrote, as it were, from dictation, with his own mind much more passive and receptive, than in the composition of a historical or didactic book.

¹ ἐν πνεύματι, in distinction from ἐν νοῦ, Rev. i. 10; comp. 1 Cor. iv. 14 sqq.

The Apocalypse combines the deepest and highest tones of the Hebrew prophecy in an overwhelming harmony, and surpasses it in elevation, fulness, and unity of view, in progress of action, and majesty of style, and, above all, in the direct relation of all parts of the picture to the central figure of the crucified and now glorified Christ, who rules the whole history of the world and the church, and is alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. In a succession of visions and mysterious allegories it unfolds before the reader the great epochs of the kingdom of God on earth to the close of its earthly development. Its burden is the comforting truth, that the Lord comes, the Lord fights, the Lord conquers and leads his church through tribulation and persecution to certain victory and eternal glory.

The value of this mysterious work is quite independent of the various learned and conflicting historical expositions and applications of its prophecies. The book was designed not to gratify idle curiosity concerning the future, nor to start presumptuous speculations and mathematical calculations, but for a practical religious end. It encourages the seven churches of Asia, and through them the whole church of all nations and times, to watchfulness, patience, fidelity, and perseverance; and comforts them in their tribulations with the assurance of the coming of Christ, and his final triumph over all his foes. Prophecy, in the nature of the case, remains more or less obscure, until it is fulfilled. And, as the Old Testament became clear only in the New, so the Revelation of John can be perfectly understood only in the triumphant and glorified church. Still, it has been a book of consolation and hope to the church militant in every age, especially amidst her great persecutions and struggles; and it will remain so, till the Lord come again in glory, and the New Jerusalem come down from heaven as a bride adorned for her husband. He, who cannot lie, assures his people: "Lo, I come quickly. Amen." And his people answer, with the holy longing of a bride for her spouse "Yea; come, Lord Jesus!"

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORSHIP.

NEANDER. *Gesch. der apost. K.* I. p. 229-283. SCHAFF: § 109-123 and § 137-145. LANGE: II. 495-533. SCHMID: *Bibl. Theol.* II. 9-30. ARNOLD *Erste Liebe, d. i. wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen.* Frkf. 1696. HARNACK: *Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und altkatholischen Zeitalter.* Erl. 1854.

§ 32. *Moral Power of Christianity over Individual Life.*

CHRISTIANITY sets forth the highest standard of virtue and piety; and this not merely as an object of effort and hope, but as a living fact in the person of Jesus Christ, whose life and example have far greater influence than any maxims and precepts of morality. This perfect life, however, is not to remain confined to Jesus, but is to enter more and more deeply into all his followers, and to reveal itself more and more widely among them. From the word and spirit of Christ, living and ruling in the church, a constant stream of redeeming, sanctifying, and glorifying power is to flow forth, till the world be transformed into the kingdom of heaven, and God become all in all.

This power appears first in the lives of individuals. The apostles and primitive Christians rose to a morality and piety far above that of the heroes of heathen virtue and even that of the Jewish saints. Their daily walk was a living union with Christ, ever seeking the glory of God and the salvation of men. Many of the cardinal virtues, humility, for example, and love for enemies, were unknown before the Christian day.

Peter, Paul, and John represent the various leading forms or types of Christian piety, as well as of theology. They were not

without defect, indeed; yet they were as nearly perfect as it was possible to be in a sinful world; and the moral influence of their lives and writings on all generations of the church is absolutely immeasurable. Each exhibits the spirit and life of Christ in a peculiar way. For the gospel does not destroy, but redeems and sanctifies the natural talents and tempers of men. It consecrates the fire of a Peter, the energy of a Paul, and the pensiveness of a John to the same service of God. It most strikingly displays its new-creating power in the sudden conversion of the apostle of the Gentiles from a most dangerous foe to a most efficient friend of the church. Upon Paul the Spirit of God came as an overwhelming storm; upon John, as the zephyr and the vernal sun. But in all dwelt the same new, supernatural, divine principle of life. All are living apologies for Christianity, whose force no truth-loving heart can resist.

Notice, too, the moral effects of the gospel in the female characters of the New Testament. Christianity raises woman from the slavish position which she held both in Judaism and in heathendom, to her true moral dignity and importance; makes her an heir of the same salvation with man,¹ and opens to her a field for the noblest and loveliest virtues, without thrusting her, after the manner of modern pseudo-philanthropic schemes of emancipation, out of her appropriate sphere of private, domestic life, and thus stripping her of her fairest ornament and peculiar charm.

The virgin Mary marks the turning point in the history of the female sex. As the mother of Christ, the second Adam, she corresponds to Eve, and is, in a higher sense than she was, the mother of all living.² In her, the "blessed among women," the curse, which had hung over the era of the fall, was removed, and her whole sex was blessed. She was not, indeed, free from actual and native sin, as is now taught, without the slightest ground in scripture, by the Roman church since the 8th of December, 1854. On the contrary, as a daughter of Adam, she needed, like all men, redemption and sanctification through Christ, the

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 7. Gal. iii. 28.

² Gen. iii. 20.

sole author of sinless holiness. But in the mother and educator of the Saviour of the world we no doubt may and should revere, though not worship, the model of female Christian virtue, of purity, tenderness, simplicity, humility, perfect obedience to God, and unreserved surrender to Christ. Next to her we have a lovely group of female disciples and friends around the Lord: Mary, the wife of Cleophas; Salome, the mother of James and John; Mary of Bethany, who sat at Jesus' feet; her busy and hospitable sister, Martha; Mary of Magdala, whom the Lord healed of a demoniacal possession; the sinner, who washed his feet with her tears of penitence and wiped them with her hair; and all the noble women, who ministered to the Son of man in his earthly poverty with the gifts of their love,¹ lingered last around his cross,² and were the first at his open sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection.³

Henceforth, we find woman no longer a mere slave of man and tool of lust, but the pride and joy of her husband, the fond mother training her children to virtue and godliness, the ornament and treasure of the family, the faithful sister, the zealous servant of the congregation in every work of Christian charity, the sister of mercy, the martyr with superhuman courage, the guardian angel of peace, the example of purity, humility, gentleness, patience, love, and fidelity unto death. Even the heathen Libanius, the enthusiastic eulogist of old Grecian culture, must exclaim, as he looked at the mother of Chrysostom: "What women the Christians have!"

§ 33. *Influence of Christianity on Society.*

See special literature sub § 86.

1. Thus raising the female sex to its true freedom and dignity, Christianity transforms and sanctifies the entire FAMILY life. It abolishes polygamy, and makes monogamy the proper form of marriage; presents the mutual duties of husband and wife, and of parents and children, in their true light, and exhibits marriage as a copy of the mystical union of Christ with his bride, the

Luke viii. 3.

² John xix. 15.

³ Matt. xxviii. 1. John xx. 1

church; thus imparting to it a holy character and a heavenly end. Henceforth the family, though still rooted, as before, in the soil of nature, in the mystery of sexual love, is spiritualized, and becomes a nursery of the purest and noblest virtues, a miniature church, where the father, as priest, daily leads his household into the pastures of the divine word, and offers to the Lord the sacrifice of their common petition, intercession, thanksgiving, and praise.

With the married state, the single also, as an exception to the rule, is consecrated by the gospel to the service of the kingdom of God; as we see in a Paul, a Barnabas, and a John,² and in the history of missions and of ascetic piety.

2. To Christianity also we owe the gradual extinction of **SLAVERY**. This evil has rested as a curse on all nations, and at the time of Christ the greater part of the existing race was bound in beastly degradation; even in civilized Greece and Rome the slaves being far more numerous than the free-born and the freed. The greatest philosophers of antiquity vindicated slavery as a natural and necessary institution; and Aristotle declared all barbarians to be slaves by birth, fit for nothing but obedience. Judaism, indeed, stood on higher ground than this; yet it tolerated slavery, though with wise precautions against maltreatment, and with the significant ordinance, that in the year of jubilee, which prefigured the renovation of the theocracy, all slaves should go free.³

This system of permanent oppression and moral degradation the gospel opposes rather by its whole spirit, than by any special law. It nowhere recommends outward violence and revolutionary measures, but provides an internal radical cure, which first mitigates the evil, takes away its sting, and effects at last its entire abolition. Christianity aims, first of all, to redeem man, without regard to rank or condition, from that worse bondage, the curse of sin, and to give him true spiritual freedom; it confirms the original unity of all men in the image of God, and

¹ Comp. Eph. v. 22-33.

² Comp. Matt. xix. 10-12. 1 Cor. vii. 7 sqq. Rev. xiv. 4. ³ Lev. xxv. 10.

teaches the common redemption and spiritual equality of all before God in Christ;¹ it insists on love as the highest duty and virtue, which itself inwardly levels social distinctions; and it addresses the comfort and consolation of the gospel particularly to all the poor, the persecuted, and the oppressed. Paul sent back to his earthly master the fugitive slave, Onesimus, whom he had converted to Christ and to his duty, but expressly charged Philemon to receive and treat the servant hereafter as a beloved brother in Christ, yea, as the apostle's own heart. It is impossible to conceive of a more radical cure of the evil in those times and within the limits of established laws and customs.

This Christian spirit of love, humanity, justice, and freedom, as it pervades the whole New Testament, has also, in fact, gradually abolished the institution of slavery in almost all civilized nations, and will not rest till all the chains of sin and misery be broken, till the personal and eternal dignity of man redeemed by Christ be universally acknowledged, and the evangelical freedom and brotherhood of men be perfectly attained.

3. Christianity enters also with its leaven-like virtue the whole CIVIL and SOCIAL life of a people, and leads it on the path of progress in all genuine civilization. It nowhere prescribes, indeed, a particular form of government, and carefully abstains from all improper interference with political and secular affairs. It accommodates itself to monarchical and republican institutions, and can flourish even under oppression and persecution from the state, as the history of the first three centuries sufficiently shows. But it teaches the true nature and aim of all government; it promotes the abolition of bad laws and institutions, and the establishment of good; it is in principle opposed alike to despotism and anarchy; it tends, under every form of government, towards order, propriety, justice, humanity, and peace; it fills the ruler with a sense of responsibility to the supreme king and judge, and the ruled with the spirit of virtue and piety.

4. Finally, the Gospel reforms the INTERNATIONAL relations by breaking down the partition-walls of prejudice and hatred among

¹ Gal. iii. 28. Col. iii. 11.

the different nations and races. It united in brotherly fellowship and harmony even the Jews and the Gentiles, once so bitterly separate and hostile. The spirit of Christianity, truly catholic or universal, rises above all national distinctions. Like the congregation at Jerusalem,¹ the whole apostolic church was of "one heart and of one soul." It had its occasional troubles, indeed temporary collisions between a Peter and a Paul, between Jewish and Gentile Christians; but instead of wondering at these, we must admire the constant victory of the spirit of harmony and love over the remaining forces of the old nature and of a former state of things. The poor Gentile Christians of Paul's churches in Greece, sent their charities to the poor Jewish Christians in Palestine, and thus proved their gratitude for the gospel and its fellowship, which they received from that mother church.² The Christians all felt themselves to be "brethren," were constantly impressed with their common origin and their common destiny,³ and considered it their sacred duty to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."⁴ While the Jews, in their spiritual pride and "odium generis humani," abhorred all Gentiles; while the Greeks despised all barbarians as only half men; and while the Romans, with all their might and policy, could bring their conquered nations only into a mechanical conglomeration, a giant body without a soul; Christianity, without violence or money, by purely moral means, has founded a universal spiritual empire and a communion of saints, which stands unshaken to this day, and will spread till it embrace all the nations of the earth as its living members, and reconcile all to God.

§ 34. *The Spiritual Gifts.*

Comp. the Commentaries on 1 Cor. 12-14, and Rom. xii. 3-9.

To aid it in this regeneration of individual and social life, the apostolic church was endowed with all needful gifts of grace, a splendid panoply against Jewish and Gentile opposition. These

¹ Acts iv. 32.

² Gal. ii. 10; 2 Cor. ix. 12-15; Rom. xv. 25-27.

³ Gal. iii. 28.

⁴ Eph. iv. 3.

gifts or charisms,¹ are certain special energies and manifestations of the Holy Ghost in believers for the common good.² They are supernatural, therefore, in their origin; but in operation they follow all the mental and moral faculties of the man, raising those faculties to higher activity, and consecrating them to the service of Christ.

They may be divided into three classes: first, gifts of *knowledge*, mainly theoretical in their character, and concerned primarily with doctrine and theology; secondly, gifts of *feeling*, appearing chiefly in divine worship and for immediate edification; and thirdly, gifts of *will*, devoted to the practical organization, government, and discipline of the church. They are not, however, abstractly separate, but work together harmoniously for the common purpose of edifying the body of Christ. In the New Testament ten charisms are specially mentioned; the first four have to do chiefly, though not exclusively, with doctrine, the next two with worship, and the remaining four with government and practical affairs.

1. The gift of WISDOM and KNOWLEDGE,³ or of deep insight into the nature and system of the divine word and the doctrines of the Christian salvation.

2. The gift of TEACHING,⁴ or of practically applying the gift of knowledge; the power of clearly expounding the Scriptures for the instruction and edification of the people.

3. The gift of PROPHECY,⁵ akin to the two preceding, but addressed rather to pious feeling than to speculative reflection, and employing commonly the language of higher inspiration, rather than that of logical exposition and demonstration. It is by no means confined to the prediction of future events, but consists in disclosing in general the hidden counsel of God, the deeper sense of the scriptures, the secret state of the heart, the abyss of sin, and the glory of redeeming grace. It appears particularly in creative periods, times of mighty revival; while the gift of teaching suits better a quiet state of natural growth in the church.

¹ χαρίσματα.

⁴ διδασκαλία.

² Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 7; xiv. 12.

⁵ προφητεία.

³ σοφία and γνώσις.

Both act not only in the sphere of doctrine and theology, but also in worship, and might in this view be reckoned also among the gifts of feeling.

4. The gift of DISCERNING SPIRITS,¹ serving mainly as a guide to the third gift, by discriminating between true prophets and false, between divine inspiration and a merely human or satanic enthusiasm. In a wider sense it is a deep discernment in separating truth and error, and in judging of moral and religious character; a holy criticism still ever necessary to the purity of Christian doctrine and the administration of the discipline of the church.

5. The gift of TONGUES,² or of an utterance proceeding from a state of unconscious ecstasy in the speaker, and unintelligible to the hearer unless interpreted—thus differing from prophecy, which requires a highly elevated but self-conscious state of feeling, serves directly to profit the congregation, and is therefore preferred by Paul.³ The speaking with tongues is an involuntary psalm-like prayer or song, uttered from a spiritual trance, and in a peculiar language inspired by the Holy Ghost. The soul is almost entirely passive, an instrument on which the Holy Spirit plays his heavenly melodies. This gift has, therefore, properly, nothing to do with the spread of the church among foreign peoples and in foreign languages, but is purely an act of worship, for the edification primarily of the speaker himself, and indirectly, through interpretation, for the hearers. It appeared first, indeed, on the day of Pentecost, but *before* Peter's address to the people, which was the proper mission-sermon; and we meet with it afterwards in the house of Cornelius and in the Corinthian congregation, as a means of edification for believers, and not, at least not directly, for unbelieving hearers, although it served to them as a significant sign,⁴ arresting their attention to the supernatural power in the church.

6. The gift of INTERPRETATION,⁵ the supplement of the glossolalia, making that gift profitable to the congregation by translat-

¹ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων.

² καινὰς ἢ ἑτέρας γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, or simply, γλώσσαις, sometimes, γλώσση λαλεῖν.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 1-5.

⁴ σημείον. 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

⁵ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν

ing the prayers and songs from the language of the spirit and of ecstasy¹ into that of the understanding and of sober self-consciousness.² The preponderance of reflection here puts this gift as properly in the first class, as in the second.

7. The gift of MINISTRY and HELP,³ that is, of special qualification primarily for the office of deacon and deaconess, or for the regular ecclesiastical care of the poor and the sick, and, in the wide sense, for all labors of Christian charity and philanthropy.

8. The gift of church GOVERNMENT and the CARE OF SOULS,⁴ indispensable to all pastors and rulers of the church, above all to the apostles and apostolic men, in proportion to the extent of their respective fields of labor. Peter warns his co-presbyters against the temptation to hierarchical arrogance and tyranny over conscience, of which so many priests, bishops, patriarchs, and popes have since been guilty; and points them to the sublime example of the great Shepherd and Archbishop, who, in infinite love, laid down his life for the sheep.⁵

9. The gift of MIRACLES,⁶ or the power possessed by the apostles and apostolic men, like Stephen, to heal all sorts of physical maladies, to cast out devils, to raise the dead, and perform other similar works, in virtue of an extraordinary energy of faith, by word, prayer, and the laying on of hands in the name of Jesus, and for his glory. These miracles were outward credentials and seals of the divine mission of the apostles in a time and among a people, which required such sensible helps to faith.

10. Finally, the gift of LOVE, the greatest, most precious, most useful, and most needful of all, described and extolled by St. Paul in the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians with the pen of an angel in the vision and enjoyment of the God of infinite love himself. As faith lies at the bottom of all charisms, so love is not properly a separate gift, but the soul of all the gifts, guarding them from abuse for selfish and ambitious purposes, making

¹ Of the πνεῦμα.

² Of the νοῦς.

³ διακονία, ἀντιλήψεις.

⁴ κυβερνήσεις, gubernationes.

⁵ 1 Pet. v. 1-4.

⁶ χάρισμα ἰαμάτων, δύναμις σημείων καὶ τεράτων.

them available for the common good, ruling, uniting, and completing them. It alone gives them their true value, and without love even the speaking with tongues of angels, and a faith which removes mountains, are nothing before God. As love is the most needful of all the gifts on earth, so it will also outlast all the others, and be the ornament and joy of the saints in heaven. For love is the inmost essence, the heart, as it were, of God, the ground of all his attributes, and the motive of all his works. It is the beginning and the end of creation, redemption, and sanctification—the link which unites us with the triune God, the cardinal virtue of Christianity, the fulfilling of the law, the bond of perfectness, and the fountain of bliss.

§.35. *The Christian Worship, and its Relation to the Jewish.*

VITRINGA: *De synagoga veterum* l. iii. Franerq. 1696.

Christian worship, or cultus, is the public adoration of God in the name of Christ; the celebration of the communion of believers as a congregation with their heavenly head, for the promotion of the glory of the Lord, and for the growth and enjoyment of spiritual life.

The disciples assembled at first in the temple, and followed as closely as possible the venerable forms of the Jewish cultus, which in truth were divinely ordained, and were an expressive type of the Christian worship. So far as we know, the Jewish Christians of the first generation, at least in Palestine, scrupulously observed the Sabbath, the annual Jewish feasts, and the whole Mosaic ritual, and celebrated, in addition to these, the Christian Sunday, the death and the resurrection of the Lord, and the holy supper. But this union, which they struggled to maintain with the cultus of their fathers, was gradually weakened by the stubborn opposition of the Jews, and was at last entirely broken by the destruction of the temple.

In the Gentile-Christian congregations founded by Paul, the worship took from the beginning a more independent form. The essential elements of the Old Testament service were transferred, indeed, but divested of their narrow legal character, and trans-

formed by the spirit of the gospel. Thus the Jewish Sabbath passed into the Christian Sunday; the typical Passover and Pentecost became feasts of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost; the bloody sacrifices gave place to the thankful remembrance and appropriation of the one, all-sufficient, and eternal sacrifice of Christ on the cross, and to the personal offering of prayer, intercession, and entire self-devotion to the service of the Redeemer; on the ruins of the temple made without hands arose the never-ceasing worship of the omnipresent God in spirit and in truth.

So early as the close of the apostolic period this more free and spiritual cultus of Christianity had no doubt become well nigh universal; yet many Jewish elements, especially in the eastern church, remain to this day.

§ 36. *The Several Parts of Worship.*

The several parts of public worship in the time of the apostles were as follows:

1. The PREACHING of the gospel. This appears in the first period mostly in the form of a missionary address to the unconverted; that is, a simple, living presentation of the main facts of the life of Jesus, with practical exhortation to repentance and conversion. Christ crucified and risen was the luminous centre, whence a sanctifying light was shed on all the relations of life. Gushing forth from a full heart, this preaching went to the heart; and springing from an inward life, it kindled life, a new, divine life, in the susceptible hearers. It was revival preaching in the purest sense. Of this primitive Christian testimony several examples from Peter and Paul are preserved in the Acts of the Apostles.

The epistles also may be regarded in the wider sense as sermons, addressed, however, to believers, and designed to nourish the Christian life already planted.

2. The **READING** of portions of the Old Testament,¹ with practical exposition and application; transferred from the Jewish synagogue into the Christian church.² Also lessons from the New Testament; that is, from the canonical gospels and the apostolic epistles, most of which were addressed to whole congregations and originally intended for public use.³ After the death of the apostles their writings became doubly important to the church, as the substitute for their oral instruction and exhortation, and were much more used in worship than the Old Testament.

3. **PRAYER**, in its various forms of petition, intercession, and thanksgiving. This descended likewise from Judaism, and in fact belongs essentially even to all heathen religions; but now it began to be offered in childlike confidence to a reconciled Father in the name of Jesus, and for all classes and conditions, even for enemies and persecutors. The first Christians accompanied every important act of their public and private life with this holy rite, and Paul requires his readers to "pray without ceasing." On solemn occasions they joined fasting with prayer, as a help to devotion, though it is nowhere directly enjoined in the New Testament.⁴ That, besides free prayer according to special wants and circumstances, of which we have an example in the fourth chapter of Acts, they used also standing forms, may be inferred with certainty from the Jewish usage, from the Lord's direction respecting his model prayer,⁵ from the strong sense of fellowship among the first Christians, and finally from the liturgical spirit of the ancient church, which could not have so generally prevailed both in the east and the west without some apostolic and post-apostolic precedent.

4. The **SONG**, a form of prayer, in the festive dress of poetry and the elevated language of inspiration, raising the congregation to the highest pitch of devotion, and giving it a part in the heavenly harmonies of the saints. This passed immediately, with the psalms of the Old Testament, those inexhaustible treasures

The *Peraschiotb* and *Hapthoroth*, as they were called.

¹ *Comp. Acts viii. 15; xv. 21.*

² *1 Thess. v. 27. Col. iv. 16.*

³ *Comp. Matt. ix. 15.*

⁴ *Matt. vi. 9. Luke xi. 1, 2.*

of spiritual experience, edification, and comfort, from the temple and the synagogue into the Christian church. The Lord himself inaugurated psalmody into the new covenant at the institution of the Holy Supper,¹ and Paul expressly enjoined the singing of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," as a means of social edification.² But to this precious inheritance from the past, whose full value was now for the first time understood in the light of the New Testament revelation, the church, in the enthusiasm of her first love, added original, specifically Christian psalms, hymns, doxologies, and benedictions, which afforded the richest material for sacred poetry and music in succeeding centuries; the song of the heavenly hosts, for example, at the birth of the Saviour;³ the "Nunc dimittis" of Simeon;⁴ the "Magnificat" of the Virgin Mary;⁵ the "Benedictus" of Zacharias;⁶ the thanksgiving of Peter after his miraculous deliverance;⁷ the speaking with tongues in the apostolic churches, which, whether song or prayer, was always in the elevated language of enthusiasm; the fragments of hymns scattered through Paul's epistles;⁸ and the lyrical and liturgical passages, the doxologies and antiphonies of the Apocalypse.⁹

5. CONFESSION OF FAITH. All the above-mentioned acts of worship are also acts of faith. The first express confession of faith is the testimony of Peter, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. The next is the trinitarian baptismal formula. Out of this gradually grew the so-called Apostles' Creed, which is also trinitarian in structure, but gives the confession of Christ the central and largest place. Though not traceable in its present shape above the third century, and found in the second in different longer or shorter forms, it is in substance altogether apostolic, and exhibits an incomparable summary of the leading facts in the revelation of the triune God from the creation of the world to the resurrection of the body; and that in a form intelligible

¹ Com. Matt. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26.

³ The "Gloria," Luke ii. 14.

⁶ Luke i. 68 sqq.

⁸ Eph. v. 14 1 Tim. iii. 16. 2 Tim. ii. 11.

² Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16.

⁴ Luke ii. 29.

⁵ Luke i. 46 sqq

⁷ Acts iv. 24-30. Comp. Ps. ii.

⁹ i. 4-8; v. 9-14; xi. 15-19 etc.

to all, and admirably suited for public worship and catechetical use.

6. Finally, the administration of the SACRAMENTS, or sacred rites, by which, under appropriate symbols and visible signs, spiritual gifts and invisible grace are represented, sealed, and applied to the worthy participators.

The two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, the antitypes of circumcision and the passover under the Old Testament, were instituted by Christ as efficacious signs, pledges, and means of the grace of the new covenant. They are related to each other as regeneration and sanctification, or as the beginning and the growth of the Christian life.

§ 37. *Baptism.*

Comp. the commentaries on Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 16; John iii. 5; Acts ii. 38, viii. 13, 16, 18, 37; Rom. vi. 4; Gal. iii. 27; Tit. iii. 5; 1 Pet. iii. 21.—F. BRENNER (R. Cath.): *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Taufe von Christus bis auf unsere Zeiten.* Bamb. 1818. HÖFLING (Lutheran): *Das Sacrament der Taufe.* Erl. 1846 and '48. 2 vols. SAMUEL MILLER (Presbyterian): *Infant Baptism Scriptural and Reasonable; and Baptism by Sprinkling or Affusion, the most Suitable and Edifying Mode.* Philad. 1840. ALEX. CARSON (Baptist): *Baptism in its Mode and Subjects.* 5th Amer. ed. 1850. G. D. ARMSTRONG (Presbyt.): *The Doctrine of Baptisms.* N. York, 1857.

Baptism in the name of the triune God was solemnly appointed by Christ, shortly before his ascension, to be the sign and seal of discipleship under him, the rite of initiation into the covenant of grace. It is the sacrament of repentance, of remission of sins, and of the implanting of the Holy Ghost; and, in the nature of the case, to be received but once. It incorporates the penitent sinner in the church, and entitles him to all the privileges, and binds him to all the duties of this communion. Where this condition of repentance and faith is wanting, the blessing, as in the case of the supper and the preaching of the word, is turned into a curse, and what God designs as a savor of life unto life, becomes, through the abuse of man, a savor of death unto death.

The first administration of this sacrament in its full Christian

sense took place on the birth-day of the church, after the first independent preaching of the apostles. The baptism of John was more of a negative sort, and only preparatory to the baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Though in theory Christian baptism coincides with regeneration as the corresponding act of inward cleansing and renewal, yet in the New Testament we find, in Simon Magus, an example of the baptism of water without that of the Spirit, and in Cornelius, of the communication of the Spirit before the application of the water. In adults the solemn ordinance was preceded by the preaching of the gospel, or a brief instruction in its main facts, and then followed by more thorough inculcation of the apostolic doctrine. Later, when great caution became necessary in receiving proselytes, the period of catechetical instruction and probation was considerably lengthened.

The usual form of the act was immersion, as is plain from the original meaning of the Greek βαπτίζειν and βαπτισμός; from the analogy of John's baptism in the Jordan; from the apostles' comparison of the sacred rite with the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, with the escape of the ark from the flood, with a cleansing and refreshing bath, and with burial and resurrection; finally, from the custom of the ancient church, which prevails in the east to this day. But sprinkling, also, or copious pouring, was practised at an early day with sick and dying persons, and probably with children and others, where total or partial immersion was impracticable. Some writers suppose that this was the case even in the first baptism of the three thousand on the day of Pentecost; since Jerusalem, especially in summer, was very poorly supplied with water and private baths. Later Hellenistic usage allows to the relevant expressions sometimes the wider sense of washing and cleansing in general.¹ Unquestionably, immersion expresses the idea of baptism more completely than sprinkling; but it is a pedantic Jewish literalism to limit the operation of the Holy Ghost by the quantity or the quality

¹ Comp. Lu. xi. 38. Mk. vii. 4, 8. Heb. ix. 10. Matt. iii. 11. 2 Ki. v. 14, 16 (LXX.).

of the water. Water is absolutely necessary to baptism, as an appropriate symbol of the purifying and regenerating energy of the Holy Ghost; but whether the water be in large quantity or small, cold or warm, fresh or salt, from river, cistern, or spring, is relatively immaterial.

As to the subjects of baptism: The apostolic origin of *infant* baptism is denied not only by the Baptists, but also by many paedobaptist divines. The Baptists assert, that infant baptism is contrary to the idea of the sacrament itself, and, accordingly, an unscriptural corruption. For baptism, say they, necessarily presupposes the preaching of the gospel on the part of the church, and repentance and faith on the part of the candidate for the ordinance; and as infants can neither understand preaching, nor repent and believe, they are not proper subjects of baptism. It is true, the apostolic church was a missionary church, and had first to establish a mother community, in the bosom of which alone the grace of baptism can be improved by a Christian education. So even under the old covenant circumcision was first performed on the adult Abraham; and so all Christian missionaries in heathen lands now begin with preaching, and baptizing adults. True, the New Testament contains no express command to baptize infants; such a command would not agree with the free spirit of the gospel. But still less does the New Testament forbid infant baptism; as it might be expected to do in view of the universal custom of the Jews, to admit their children by circumcision on the eighth day after their birth into the fellowship of the old covenant.

On the contrary, we have positive arguments for the apostolic origin and character of infant baptism, first, in the fact, that circumcision as truly prefigured baptism, as the passover the holy supper; then in the organic relation between Christian parents and children; in the nature of the new covenant, as even more comprehensive than the old; in the universal virtue of Christ, as the Redeemer of all sexes, classes, and ages, and especially in the import of his own infancy, which has redeemed and sanctified the infantile age; in his express invitation to children, whom

he assures of a title to the kingdom of heaven, and whom, therefore, he certainly would not leave without the way and means of entering it; in the words of institution, which plainly look to the Christianizing, not merely of individuals, but of whole nations, including, of course, the children; in the express declaration of Peter at the first administration of the ordinance, that this promise of forgiveness of sins and of the Holy Ghost was to the Jews and to their children; in the five instances in the New Testament of the baptism of whole families, where the presence of children in most of the cases is far more probable than the absence of children in all; and finally, in the universal practice of the early church, against which the isolated protest of Tertullian proves no more, than his other eccentricities and Montanistic peculiarities.

Of course, however, infant baptism is unmeaning, and its practice a profanation, except under the guarantee of a Christian education. And it needs to be completed by a subsequent act like confirmation, in which the child, after due instruction in the gospel, intelligently and freely confesses Christ, devotes himself to his service, and is thereupon solemnly admitted to the full communion of the church and to the sacrament of the holy Supper. The earliest traces of confirmation are supposed to be found in the apostolic practice of laying on hands, or symbolically imparting the Holy Ghost, after baptism.

§ 38. *The Lord's Supper.*

Comp. the commentaries on Matt. xxvi. 26 sqq., and the parallels; 1 Cor. x. 16, 17; xi. 23 sqq.; Jno. vi. 47-58. J. DÖLLINGER: *Die Lehre von der Eucharistie in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten.* Mainz 1826. (Rom. Cath.) EBRARD: *Das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl u. seine Geschichte.* Frankf. 1845. Vol. i. p. 1-231. (Reformed.) NEVIN: *The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* Philadel. 1846. p. 199-256. KAHNIS: *Die Lehre vom heil. Abendmahl.* Leipz. 1851. (Lutheran.) RBT. WILBERFORCE: *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* Lond. 1853. (Anglican, or rather Tractarian and Romanizing.) L. IMM. RÜCKERT: *Das Abendmahl. Sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche.* Leipz. 1856. (Rationalistic.)

The sacrament of the holy Supper was instituted by Christ under the most solemn circumstances, when he was about to offer himself a sacrifice for the salvation of the world. It is the feast of the thankful remembrance and appropriation of his atoning death, and of the living union of believers with him, and their communion among themselves. As the passover kept in lively remembrance the miraculous deliverance from the land of bondage, and at the same time pointed forward to the Lamb of God; so the eucharist represents, seals, and applies the now accomplished redemption from sin and death until the end of time. Here the deepest mystery of Christianity is embodied ever anew, and the tragedy of the cross reproduced before us. Here Christ, who sits at the right hand of God, and is yet truly present in his church to the end of the world, gives his own body and blood, the life of his divine-human person and the virtue of his atoning death, as spiritual food, the true bread of life, to all, who, with due self-examination, come hungering and thirsting to the heavenly feast. The communion has therefore been always regarded as the summit and inmost sanctuary of the Christian worship, and as a foretaste of the marriage-supper of the Lamb in heaven.

In the apostolic period the eucharist was celebrated daily in connexion with a simple meal of brotherly love (agape), in which the Christians, in communion with their common Redeemer, forgot all distinctions of rank, wealth, and culture, and felt themselves to be members of one family of God. But this childlike exhibition of brotherly unity became more and more difficult as the church increased, and led to all sorts of abuses, such as we find rebuked in the Corinthians by Paul. The love-feasts, therefore, which indeed were no more enjoined by law, than the community of goods at Jerusalem, were gradually severed from the eucharist, and in the course of the second and third centuries gradually disappeared.

The apostle requires the Christians¹ to prepare themselves for the Lord's Supper by self-examination, or earnest inquiry whether they have repentance and faith, without which they cannot

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 28.

receive the blessing from the sacrament, but rather provoke judgment from God. This caution gave rise to the appropriate custom of holding special preparatory exercises for the holy communion.

§ 39. *Sacred Places and Times.*

Although, as the omnipresent Spirit, God may be worshipped in all places of the universe, which is his temple,¹ yet our finite sensuous nature, and the need of united devotion, require special sanctuaries, exclusively consecrated to his worship. The first Christians, after the example of the Lord, frequented the temple at Jerusalem and the synagogues, so long as their relation to the Mosaic economy allowed. But besides this, they assembled also from the first in private houses, especially for the communion and the love-feast.

The prominent members and first converts, as Lydia in Philippi, Jason in Thessalonica, Justus in Corinth, Priscilla at Ephesus, Philemon in Colosse, gladly opened their dwellings for social worship. In larger cities, as in Rome, the Christian community divided itself into several such assemblies at private houses,² which, however, are always addressed in the epistles as a unit.

That the Christians in the apostolic age erected special houses of worship is out of the question, even on account of their persecution by Jews and Gentiles, to say nothing of their general poverty; and the transition of a whole synagogue to the new faith was no doubt very rare. As the Saviour of the world was born in a stable, and ascended to heaven from a mountain, so his apostles and their successors down to the fourth century, preached in the streets, the markets, on mountains, in ships, sepulchres, caves, and deserts, and in the humblest private dwellings. But how many thousands of costly churches and chapels have since been built in all parts of the world to the honor of the crucified Redeemer!

¹ Comp. Jno. iv. 24.

² ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον, Rom. xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

The use of sacred times arises likewise from the necessity of the earthly life of man as well as from the nature of social worship, and has nothing inconsistent with the duty of serving God at all times, and praying without ceasing. The apostolic church here followed in general the Jewish usage, purged from all superstition and self-righteousness, and filled with the spirit of faith and evangelical freedom. Accordingly, the Christians observed, first of all, besides table-prayer and private devotion, the Jewish hours of prayer, particularly the times of the morning and evening sacrifices.

As regards the observance of a particular day of the week, the special divine injunction of a weekly Sabbath, which stands in the Decalogue, and is rooted even in the creation, is, in its essence, more than a merely national, temporary, and ceremonial law. The apostolic congregations assembled, indeed, so far as practicable, every day for social edification, at the suggestion of the daily sacrifices in the temple;¹ but from the beginning they held the first day of the week particularly sacred as the "Lord's day," for the thankful celebration of his resurrection, and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost.² Sunday was the day of the completion of the new creation, and became the Christian day of rest, at once answering the typical import of the Jewish Sabbath, and itself forming in turn a type of the eternal rest of the people of God in the heavenly Canaan.³ In the gospel the Sabbath is not a legal, ceremonial observance, but rather a precious gift of grace, a privilege, a holy rest in the midst of the unrest of the world, a day of spiritual refreshing in communion with God and in the fellowship of the saints, a foretaste and pledge of the final Sabbath of heaven. The due observance of it, in which the reformed churches of England, Scotland, and America, to their incalculable advantage, excel the churches of the European continent, is a real means of discipline and of grace for the people, a safeguard of public morality and religion,

¹ Acts ii. 46; xix. 9.

² Comp. Jno. xx. 19, 26. Acts xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Rev. i. 10.

³ Comp. Heb. iv. 1-11. Rev. iv. 13.

a bulwark against infidelity, and a source of immeasurable blessing to the church, the state, and the family. Besides the Christian Sunday, the Jewish Christians observed their ancient Sabbath also, till Jerusalem was destroyed.

As Sunday was devoted to the commemoration of the Saviour's resurrection, and observed as a day of thanksgiving and joy, so, at least as early as the second century, if not sooner, Friday came to be observed as a day of repentance, with prayer and fasting, in commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ.

As to annual festivals: it is most probable, from some hints in the New Testament,¹ in connexion with the universal practice of the church in the second century,² that the annual celebration of the death and the resurrection of Christ, and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, answering to the Passover and Pentecost of the Jews, was introduced in the apostolic age. In truth, Christ crucified, risen, and living in the church, was the one absorbing thought of the Christians; and as this thought expressed itself in the weekly observance of Sunday, so it would very naturally transform also the two great typical feasts of the Old Testament into the Christian Easter and Whitsunday. The Paschal controversies of the second century related not to the fact, but to the time, of the Easter festival, and, according to Polycarp of Smyrna and Anicet of Rome, are to be traced to an unimportant difference in the practice of the apostles.

Of other annual festivals, such especially as those of the Virgin Mary and the saints, the New Testament contains not the faintest trace.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 7, 8; xvi. 8. Acts xviii. 21; xx. 6, 16.

² Comp. below, § 99.

CHAPTER V.

ORGANIZATION OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

R. Rothe: Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche u. ihrer Verfassung, I. Wittenb. 1837. p. 141 sqq. Möhler (R. C.): Die Einheit der Kirche. Tüb. 1825. S. Miller (Presbyt.): Letters concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry. 2d ed. Philad., 1830. Löhe (Luth.): Die N. T. lichen Aemter u. ihr Verhältniss zur Gemeinde. Nürnberg. 1848. Essays on the Primitive Church Offices, reprinted from the PRINCETON REVIEW (Presbyt.). N. York, 1858. Bishop Kaye (Episc.): Account of the External Discipline and Government of the Church of Christ in the First Three Centuries. Lond. 1855. Neander, Thiersch, Lange, Schaff, in their works on the Apostolic Church.

§ 40. *The Ministry, and its Relation to the Community.*

THE ministerial office was instituted by the Lord before his ascension, and solemnly inaugurated on the first Christian Pentecost by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, to be the regular organ of the kingly power of Christ on earth in founding, maintaining, and extending the church. It appears in the New Testament under different names, descriptive of its various functions: —the “ministry of the word,” “of the Spirit,” “of righteousness,” “of reconciliation.” It includes the preaching of the gospel, the administration of the sacraments, and church discipline or the power of the keys, the power to open and shut the gates of the kingdom of heaven, in other words, to declare to the penitent the forgiveness of sins, and to the unworthy excommunication in the name and by the authority of Christ. The ministers of the gospel are, in an eminent sense, servants of God, and, as such, servants of the churches in the noble spirit of self-denying love according to the example of Christ, for the eternal salvation of the souls intrusted to their charge. They are called the light of the world, the salt of the earth, fellow-workers with God, stewards

of the mysteries of God, ambassadors for Christ. And this unspeakable dignity brings with it corresponding responsibility. Even a Paul, contemplating the glory of an office, which is a savor of life unto life to believers, and of death unto death to the impenitent, exclaims; "Who is sufficient for these things?"¹ and ascribes all his sufficiency and success to the unmerited grace of God.

The internal call to the sacred office and the moral qualification for it must come from the Holy Ghost,² but be recognised and ratified by the church through her proper organs. The apostles were called, indeed, immediately by Christ to the work of founding the church; but so soon as a community of believers arose, the congregation took an active part also in all religious affairs. The persons thus inwardly and outwardly designated by the voice of Christ and his church, were solemnly set apart and inducted into their ministerial functions by the symbolical act of ordination; that is, by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the apostles or their representatives, conferring the appropriate spiritual gifts.³

Yet, high as the sacred office is in its divine origin and import, it was separated by no impassable chasm from the body of believers. The Jewish and later catholic antithesis of clergy and laity has no place in the apostolic age. The ministers, on the one part, are as sinful and dependent on redeeming grace as the members of the congregations; and those members, on the other, share equally with the ministers in the blessings of the gospel, enjoy equal freedom of access to the throne of grace, and are called to the same direct communion with Christ, the head of the whole body. The very mission of the church is, to reconcile all men with God, and make them all true Christians, followers of Christ, prophets, priests, and kings. And though this glorious end can be attained only through a long process of history, yet regeneration itself contains the germ and the pledge of the final perfection. The New Testament, looking at the principle of the new life and the high calling of the Christian, styles all believers

¹ 2 Cor. ii. 13.

² Acts xx. 28.

³ Acts vi. 6. 1 Tim. iv. 14. v. 22. 2 Tim. i. 6.

“brethren,” “saints,” a “spiritual temple,” a “peculiar people,” a “holy and royal priesthood.” It is remarkable, that Peter in particular should present the idea of the priesthood as the destiny of all,¹ and apply the term *clerus* not to the ministerial order as distinct from the laity, but to the community;² thus regarding every Christian congregation as a spiritual tribe of Levi, a peculiar people, holy to the Lord.

§ 41. *Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists.*

The ministry originally coincided with the apostolate; as the church also was at first identical with the congregation of Jerusalem. But when the believers began to number thousands, the apostles could not possibly perform all the functions of teaching, conducting worship, and administering discipline; they were obliged to create new offices for the ordinary wants of the congregations, while they devoted themselves to the general supervision. Thus arose gradually, out of the proper spirit of Christianity, though partly at the suggestion of the existing organization of the Jewish synagogue, the various general and congregational offices in the church. As these all have their common root in the apostolate, so they partake also, in different degrees, of its divine origin, authority, privileges, and responsibilities.

We notice first those offices, whose field was not limited to any one congregation, but extended over the whole church, or at least over a greater part of it. These are apostles, prophets, and evangelists.

1. APOSTLES. These were originally twelve in number, answering to the twelve tribes of Israel. In place of the traitor, Judas, Matthias was chosen by lot, between the ascension and Pentecost. After the outpouring of the Holy Ghost Paul was added by the direct call of the exalted Saviour. He was the independent apostle of the Gentiles, and afterwards gathered several subordinate helpers around him. Besides these there were apostolic men, like Barnabas, whose standing and influence were almost

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9.

² Ch. v. 3.

equal to that of the proper apostles. The apostles (excepting Matthias, whose election has been, on this account, thought by some to have been hasty and invalid) were called directly by Christ, without human intervention, to be his representatives on earth, the infallible organs of the Holy Ghost, the founders and pillars of the whole church. Their office was universal, and their inspired writings are to this day the unerring rule of faith and practice for all Christendom. But they never exercised their divine authority in arbitrary and despotic style. They always paid tender regard to the rights, freedom, and dignity of the immortal souls under their care. In every believer, even in a poor slave like Onesimus, they recognised a member of the same body with themselves, a partaker of their redemption, a beloved brother in Christ. Their government of the church was a labor of meekness and love, of self-denial and unreserved devotion to the eternal welfare of the people.

2. PROPHETS. These were inspired teachers and enthusiastic preachers of the mysteries of God. They appear to have had special influence on the choice of officers, designating the persons, who were pointed out to them by the Spirit of God in their prayer and fasting, as peculiarly fitted for missionary labor or any other service in the church. Of the prophets the book of Acts names Agabus,¹ Barnabas, Symeon, Lucius, Manaen, and Saul of Tarsus,² Judas and Silas.³ The gift of prophecy dwelt in all the apostles, pre-eminently in John, the seer of the new covenant and author of the Revelation.

3. EVANGELISTS, itinerant preachers, delegates and fellow-laborers of the apostles;—such men as Mark, Luke, Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphras, Trophimus, and Apollos.

§ 42. *Presbyters, Deacons, and Deaconesses. The Angels of the Churches of Asia Minor.*

Besides these officers of the whole church, there were officers

¹ Ch. xi. 28 : xxi. 19

² Ch. xiii. 1.

³ Ch. xv. 32

of local congregations, charged with carrying forward in particular places the work begun by the apostles.

1. BISHOPS¹ or PRESBYTERS.² These two terms denote in the New Testament the same office; the first signifying its duties, the second its dignity.³ The presbyters were the regular overseers, teachers, and pastors of the several congregations, intrusted with the direction of public worship, the administration of discipline, the care of souls, and the management of the church property. We find them always in the plural, as a college; at Jerusalem, at Ephesus,⁵ at Philippi,⁶ and at the ordination of Timothy.⁷

As to the mutual relations of the members of the presbytery, the division of labor among them, the nature and term of the presidency, the New Testament gives us no information.

The distinction of teaching presbyters or ministers proper, and ruling presbyters or lay elders, rests on a single passage,⁸ which unquestionably admits a different interpretation; especially since Paul in the same epistle⁹ expressly mentions ability to teach among the requisites for the episcopal or presbyterial office. The members of the presbyterial college, however, very probably distributed the various duties of their office among themselves according to their respective talents, tastes, and outward circumstances. Possibly, too, the president, whether temporary or permanent, was styled distinctively the bishop; and from this the subsequent separation of the episcopate from the presbytery may easily have arisen. However this may have been, the bishops in the first century were limited in their jurisdiction either to one congregation or to a small circle of congregations, while the general government of the church was in the hands of the apostles.

2. DEACONS, or helpers, appear first in the church of Jerusalem, seven in number, appointed in consequence of a complaint of the Hellenistic Christians, that their widows were neglected in favor of the Hebrew Christians.¹⁰ The example of that church

¹ ἐπίσκοποι.

² From זקנים, elders.

³ Comp. Acts xx. 17, 28. Tit. i. 5, 7. 1 Tim. iii. 1-7. Phil. i. 1.

⁴ Acts xi. 30; xv. 4, 6, 23; xxi. 18.

⁵ Ch. xx. 17, 28.

⁶ Phil. i. 1

⁷ Ti. ii. iv. 14.

⁸ 1 Tim. v. 17.

⁹ Ch. iii. 2

¹⁰ Acts vi.

was followed in all the other congregations, though without particular regard to the number seven. The office of these deacons, according to the narrative in Acts, was, to attend to the wants of the poor and the sick. To this work a kind of pastoral care of souls very naturally attached itself; since poverty and sickness afford the best occasions and the most urgent demand for edifying instruction and consolation. Hence living faith and exemplary conduct were necessary qualifications for the office of deacon.'

3. DEACONESSES, or female helpers, had a similar charge of the poor and sick in the female portion of the church. This office was the more needful on account of the rigid separation of the sexes at that day, especially among the Greeks. It opened to pious women and virgins, and especially to widows, a most suitable field for the regular official exercise of their peculiar gifts of self-denying love and devotion to the welfare of the church. Through it they could carry the light and comfort of the gospel into the most private and delicate relations of domestic life, without at all overstepping their natural sphere. Paul mentions Phebe as a deaconess of the church of Cenchrea, the port of Corinth; and it is more than probable, that Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis, whom he commends for their labor in the Lord,² served in the same capacity at Rome.

4. Finally, towards the close of the apostolic age one more class of congregational officers appears,—the ANGELS, to whom the epistles of the Apocalypse are addressed. These probably represent the whole corps of officers in the respective churches of Asia Minor, as the responsible messengers of God to them. If regarded as single persons, they cannot be mere members of a presbytery, but must be somewhat like the bishops of the second century, though still materially different from them in the extent of their charges, and in their subordination to the still living apostle John; so as not to be successors of the apostles in the later sense of that word. We might call them congregational bishops as distinct from the apostles and from diocesan bishops of later times.

¹ Acts vi. 3. 1 Tim. iii. 8 sqq.

² Rom. xvii. 12.

§ 43. *The Council at Jerusalem.*

The most complete outward representation of the apostolic church as a teaching and legislative body was the council convened at Jerusalem in the year 50, to decide as to the authority of the law of Moses, and adjust the difference between Jewish and Gentile Christianity.¹ It consisted of the apostles, elders, and brethren.² This fact deserves special notice in view of the exclusively hierarchical government which afterwards obtained in the Roman and Greek churches. The transactions were public, before the congregation; the apostles and elders framed the decree not without, but "with the whole church;" and sent the circular letter not in their own name only, but also in the name of the brethren; a plain proof of the right of Christian people to take part in some way in the government of the church, as they do in her worship.

The spirit and practice of the apostles thus favored a certain kind of popular self-government, and the harmonious, fraternal co-operation of the different elements of the church. It countenanced no abstract distinction of clergy and laity. All believers are called to the prophetic, priestly, and kingly offices in Christ. The bearers of authority and discipline should therefore never forget, that their great work is to train the governed to freedom and independence, and by the various spiritual offices to form gradually the whole body of believers to the unity of faith and knowledge, and to the perfect manhood of Christ.³

The council of Jerusalem, though not a binding precedent, is a significant example, giving the apostolic sanction to the synodical form of church government, in which all classes of the Christian community are represented in the management of public affairs and in settling controversies respecting faith and practice.

§ 44. *Church Discipline.*

Although holiness, like unity and catholicity, is an essential mark of the church as the body of Jesus Christ, yet it has never

¹ Acts xv., and Galatians ii.² Acts xv. 12, 22, 23.³ Eph. iv. 11-13.

thus far been fully realized in her earthly membership. The church on earth is passing through a long process of sanctification, which cannot be complete, till the second coming of the Lord and the resurrection of the body.

Even the apostles, far as they tower above ordinary Christians, and infallible as they are in giving all the instruction necessary to salvation, never during their earthly life claimed sinless perfection of character, but felt themselves oppressed with manifold infirmities, and in constant need of forgiveness and purification.¹

Still less can we expect perfect moral purity in their churches. In fact, all the epistles of the New Testament contain exhortations to progress in virtue and piety, warnings against unfaithfulness and apostasy, and reproofs respecting corrupt practices among the believers. The old leaven of Judaism and heathenism could not be purged away at once, and to many of the blackest sins the converts were for the first time fully exposed after their regeneration by water and the Spirit. In the churches of Galatia many fell back from grace and from the freedom of the gospel to the legal bondage of Judaism and the "rudiments of the world." In the church of Corinth Paul had to rebuke the carnal spirit of sect, the morbid desire for wisdom, participation in the idolatrous feasts of the heathen, the tendency to uncleanness, and a scandalous profanation of the holy supper or the love-feasts connected with it. Almost all the churches of Asia Minor, according to the epistles of Paul and the Apocalypse, were so infected with theoretical or practical error, as to call for the earnest warnings and reproofs of the Holy Spirit through the apostles.

These facts show how needful church discipline is, both for the church herself and for the offenders. For the church it is a process of self-purification and the assertion of the holiness and moral dignity which essentially belong to her. To the offender it is at once a merited punishment and a means of repentance and reform. For the ultimate end of all the agency of Christ and

¹ Phil. iii. 12-14. 2 Cor. iv. 7 sqq., xii. 7. 1 Cor. ix. 27. Jas. iii. 2. 1 Jno. i. 8, 9 Gal. ii. 11. Acts xv. 36-39, xxiii. 3 sqq.

his church is the salvation of souls; and Paul styles the severest form of church discipline the delivering of the backslider "to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."¹

The means of discipline are of various degrees of severity; first, private admonition, then public correction, and, finally, when these prove fruitless, excommunication, or temporary exclusion from all the means of grace and from Christian intercourse.² Upon sincere repentance, the fallen one is restored to the communion of the church. The act of discipline is that of the whole congregation in the name of Christ; and Paul himself, though personally absent, excommunicated the fornicator at Corinth with the concurrence of the congregation, and as being in spirit united with it.

The two severest cases of discipline in the apostolic church were the fearful punishment of Ananias and Sapphira by Peter for falsehood and hypocrisy in the church of Jerusalem in the days of her first love,³ and the excommunication of a member of the Corinthian congregation by Paul for adultery and fornication.⁴ The latter case affords also an instance of restoration.⁵

§ 45. *The Church, the Body of Jesus Christ*

Thus the apostolic church appears as a free, independent, and complete organism, a system of supernatural, divine life in a human body. It contains in itself all the offices and energies required for its purposes. It produces the supply of its outward wants from its own free spirit. Instead of receiving protection and support from the secular power, it suffers deadly hatred and persecution. It manages its own internal affairs with equal independence. Of union with the state, either in the way of hierarchical supremacy or of Erastian subordination, the first three centuries afford no trace. The apostles honor the civil authority as a divine institution, and, in the time of a Claudius and a Nero, enjoy strict

¹ 1 Cor. v. 5.

² Acts v. 1-10.

³ Comp. Matt. xviii. 15-18. Tit. iii. 10. 1 Cor. v. 5.

⁴ 1 Cor. v. 1 sqq.

⁵ 2 Cor. ii. 5-10.

obedience to it in all civil concerns; as, indeed, their heavenly Master himself submitted in temporal matters to Herod and to Pilate, and rendered unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's. But in their spiritual calling they allowed nothing to be prescribed or forbidden to them by the state. Their principle was, to "obey God rather than men." For this principle, for their allegiance to the King of kings, they were always ready to suffer imprisonment, insult, persecution, and death, but never to resort to carnal weapons, or stir up rebellion and revolution. "The weapons of our warfare," says Paul, "are not carnal, but mighty through God." Martyrdom is a far nobler heroism than resistance with fire and sword, and leads with greater certainty at last to a thorough and permanent victory.

The apostolic church, as to its membership, was not free from impurities, the after-workings of Judaism and heathenism and the natural man. But in virtue of an inherent authority it exercised rigid discipline, and thus steadily asserted its dignity and holiness. It was not perfect; but it earnestly strove after the perfection of manhood in Christ, and longed and hoped for the reappearance of the Lord in glory to the exaltation of his people. It was as yet not actually universal, but a little flock compared with the hostile hosts of the heathen and Jewish world; yet it carried in itself the principle of true catholicity, the power and pledge of its victory over all other religions, and its final prevalence among all nations of the earth and in all classes of society.

Paul defines the church as the body of Jesus Christ.¹ He thus represents it as an organic living system of various members, powers, and functions, and at the same time as the abode of Christ and the organ of his redeeming and sanctifying influence upon the world. Christ is, in one view, the ruling head, in another the invisible, all-pervading soul, of this body. Christ without the church were a head without a body, a fountain without a stream, a king without subjects, a captain without soldiers,

¹ Rom. xii. 5. 1 Cor. vi. 15; x. 17; xii. 27. Eph. i. 23; iv. 12; v. 23, 30. Col. i. 18, 24; ii. 17.

a bridegroom without a bride. The church without Christ were a body without soul or spirit, a lifeless corpse. The church lives only as Christ lives and moves and works in her. At every moment of her existence she is dependent on him, as the body on the soul, or the branches on the vine. But on his part he perpetually bestows upon her his heavenly gifts and supernatural powers, continually reveals himself in her, and uses her as his organ for the spread of his kingdom and the christianizing of the world, till all principalities and powers yield free obedience to him, and adore him as the eternal Prophet, Priest, and King of the regenerate race.

This work must be a gradual process of history. The idea of a body, and of all organic life, includes that of development, of expansion and consolidation. And hence the same Paul speaks also of the growth and edification of the body of Christ, "till we all come into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."¹

¹ Eph. iv. 13.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE

CHURCH UNDER PERSECUTION:

FROM THE

DEATH OF ST. JOHN TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

A. D. 100—311.



SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE DEATH OF ST. JOHN TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.
A.D. 100—311.

SOURCES.

- 1.) The writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and all the ecclesiastical authors of the 2nd and 3rd, and to some extent of the 4th and 5th centuries; particularly Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Theodoret. (2.) The writings of the numerous heretics, mostly extant only in fragments. (3.) The works of the pagan opponents of Christianity, as Celsus, Lucian, and Porphyry. (4.) The occasional notices of Christianity in the contemporary classical authors, Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny, Dio Cassius.

The fragments of the earliest Christian writers, whose works are lost, may be found collected in GRABE: *Spicilegium patrum ut et haeticorum saeculi i. ii. et iii.* Oxon. 1700 (new ed. Oxf. 1714, 3 vols.); in ROUTH: *Reliquiae Sacrae, sive auctorum fere jam perditorum secundi, tertiiue saeculi fragmenta, quae supersunt.* Oxon. 1814 sqq. 4 vols. (2nd ed. enlarged, 5 vols. Oxf. 1846–48); and in DOM T. B. PITRA (O. S. B.): *Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque eccles. anecdota hactenus opera, selecta e Graecis Orientalibusque et Latinis codicibus.* 1852–55. vols. 3. Comp. also BUNSEN: *Christianity and Mankind, &c.* Lond. 1854, vols. v. vi. and vii., which contain the *Analecta Ante-Nicaena* (*reliquiae literariae, canonicae, liturgicae*). The heresiological writings of antiquity are collected in FRANC. OEHLER: *Corpus haeresiologicum.* Berol. 1856 sqq.

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DOCK, New Haven, 1852, 2 vols. CAVE: Primitive Christianity. 1698. CAVE: Lives of the Fathers of the first four Centuries. 1677-83. 2 vols. (Oxon. 1841, in 3 vols.). GIBBON: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. London. 1776-88. 6 vols.; and frequently (ed. of Milman, with his own, Guizot's, and Wenck's notes). TZSCHIRNER: Der Fall des Heidenthums. Leipz. 1829. BURTON: Lectures upon the Ecclesiastical History of the first three Centuries. Oxf. 1833, in 3 parts (in 1 vol. 1845). MILMAN: The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. Lond. 1840. 5 vols. (N.York, 1844, 1 vol.). KAYE: Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian. Lond. 1845. HINDS: The Rise and Early Progress of Christianity. Lond. 1849. JEREMIE: Hist. of the Chr. Church in the 2nd and 3rd Cent. Lond. 1849. MAURICE: Lectures on the Eccles. Hist. of the 1st and 2nd Cent. Cambr. 1854. RITSCHL: Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche. Bonn, 1850. 2nd ed. 1857. BAUR: Das Christenthum u. die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. Tübing. 1853. HAGENBACH: Die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. Leipz. 1853. (2nd ed. 1856.) Christianity in the Three First Centuries. Lectures by MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, BUNGENER, etc. Lond. 1858. Of the more general works on Church History, those of Tillemont (R. C.) and Neander, particularly should be noticed on this period.

§ 46. *Introductory View.*

We now descend from the primitive apostolic church to the Graeco-Roman; from the scene of creation to the work of preservation; from the fountain of divine revelation to the stream of human development; from the generation of demigods to that of mortals; from the inspirations of the apostles and prophets to the productions of enlightened but fallible teachers. The hand of God has drawn a bold line of demarcation between the century of miracles and the succeeding ages, to show, by the abrupt transition and the striking contrast, the difference between the work of God and the work of man, and to impress us the more deeply with the supernatural origin of Christianity and the incomparable value of the New Testament.

Still, notwithstanding the striking difference, the church of the second and third centuries is a legitimate continuation of that of the primitive age. While far inferior in originality, purity, energy, and freshness, it is distinguished for conscientious fidelity in preserving and propagating the sacred writings and traditions of the apostles, and for untiring zeal in imitating their holy lives amidst the greatest difficulties and dangers.

The second period, from the death of the apostle John to the end of the persecutions, or to the accession of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, is the classic age of the *ecclesia pressa*, of oppression and persecution, and of Christian martyrdom and heroism, the cheerful sacrifice of possessions and of life for the inheritance of heaven. It furnishes a continuous commentary on the Saviour's word: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves;" "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword."¹ No merely human religion could have stood such an ordeal of fire for three hundred years. The final victory of Christianity over Judaism and heathenism, and the mightiest empire of the ancient world, a victory gained without physical force, by the moral power of patience and perseverance, of faith and love, is one of the sublimest spectacles of history, and one of the strongest evidences of the divinity and indestructible life of our holy religion.

But equally sublime and significant are the intellectual and spiritual victories of the church in this period over the science and art of heathenism, and over the assaults of Gnostic and Ebionistic heresy, with the copious vindication and development of the Christian truth, which the great mental conflict with those open and secret enemies called forth.

The church of this period appears poor in earthly possessions and honors, but rich in heavenly grace, in world-conquering faith, love, and hope; unpopular, even outlawed, hated, and persecuted, yet far more vigorous and expansive than the philosophies of Greece or the empire of Rome; composed chiefly of persons of the lower social ranks, yet attracting the noblest and deepest minds of the age, and bearing in her bosom the hope of the world; conquering by apparent defeat, and growing on the blood of her martyrs; great in deeds, greater in sufferings, greatest in death for the honor of Christ and the benefit of generations to come.²

¹ Comp. Matt. x. 17-39.

² Isaac Taylor, in his "Ancient Christianity," which is expressly written against a superstitious over-valuation of the patristic age, nevertheless admits (vol. i. p. 37): "Our brethren of the early church challenge our respect, as well as affection; for theirs was the fervor of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs, often, a

The condition and manners of the Christians in this age are most beautifully described by the unknown author of the *Epistola ad Diognetum*³ in the early part of the second century "The Christians," says he, "are not distinguished from other men by country, by language, nor by civil institutions. For they neither dwell in cities by themselves, nor use a peculiar tongue, nor lead a singular mode of life. They dwell in the Grecian or barbarian cities, as the case may be; they follow the usage of the country in dress, food, and the other affairs of life. Yet they present a wonderful and confessedly paradoxical conduct. They dwell in their own native lands, but as strangers. They take part in all things, as citizens; and they suffer all things, as foreigners. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every native land is a foreign. They marry, like all others; they have children; but they do not cast away their offspring. They have the table in common, but not wives. They live upon the earth, but are citizens of heaven. They obey the existing laws, and excel the laws by their lives. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet they are condemned. They are killed and are made alive. They are poor and make many rich. They lack all things, and in all things abound. They are reproached, and glory in their reproaches. They are calumniated, and are justified. They are cursed, and they bless. They receive scorn, and they give honor. They do good, and are punished as evildoers. When punished, they rejoice, as being made alive. By the Jews they are attacked as aliens, and by the Greeks persecuted; and the

meek patience under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labors of love; theirs a munificence in charity, altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care of the sacred writings; and this one merit, if they had no other, is of a superlative degree, and should entitle them to the veneration and grateful regards of the modern church. How little do many readers of the Bible, nowadays, think of what it cost the Christians of the second and third centuries, merely to rescue and hide the sacred treasure from the rage of the heathen!"

³ C. 4 and 6 (p. 69 sq. ed. Otto. Lips. 1852).

causes of the enmity their enemies cannot tell. In short, what the soul is in the body, the Christians are in the world. The soul is diffused through all the members of the body, and the Christians are spread through the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but it is not of the body; so the Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The soul, invisible, keeps watch in the visible body; so also the Christians are seen to live in the world, but their piety is invisible. The flesh hates and wars against the soul, suffering no wrong from it, but because it resists fleshly pleasures; and the world hates the Christians with no reason, but that they resist its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh and members, by which it is hated; so the Christians love their haters. The soul is inclosed in the body, but holds the body together; so the Christians are detained in the world as in a prison; but they contain the world. Immortal, the soul dwells in the mortal body; so the Christians dwell in the corruptible, but look for incorruption in heaven. The soul is the better for restriction in food and drink; and the Christians increase, though daily punished. This lot God has assigned to the Christians in the world; and it cannot be taken from them."

The community of Christians thus from the first felt itself, in distinction from Judaism and from heathenism, the salt of the earth, the light of the world, the city of God set on a hill, the immortal soul in a dying body; and this its impression respecting itself was no mere proud conceit, but truth and reality, acting in life and in death, and opening the way through hatred and persecution even to an outward victory over the world.

CHAPTER I.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

Comp. LE QUIEN: Oriens Christianus. Par. 1740. 3 vols. fol. MOSHEM: Historical Commentaries, &c. (ed. Murdock) i. p. 259-290. GIBBON: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Chap. xv. NEANDER: History of the Christian Relig. and Ch. (ed. Torrey) i. p. 68-79. WILTSCH: Handbuch der kirchl. Geographie u. Statistik. Berl. 1846. i. p. 32 sqq.

§ 47. *Hindrances and Helps.*

For the first three centuries the Lord placed Christianity in the most unfavorable circumstances, that it might display its moral power, and gain its victory over the world by spiritual weapons alone. Until the reign of Constantine it had not even a legal existence in the Roman empire, but was first ignored as a Jewish sect, then slandered, proscribed, and persecuted, as a treasonable innovation, and the adoption of it made punishable with confiscation and death. Besides, it offered not the slightest favor, as Mohammedanism afterwards did, to the corrupt inclinations of the heart, but against the current ideas of Jews and heathens it so presented its inexorable demand of repentance and conversion, renunciation of self and of the world, that more, according to Tertullian, were kept out of the new sect by love of pleasure, than by love of life. The Jewish origin of Christianity also, and the poverty and obscurity of a majority of its professors, particularly offended the pride of the Greeks and Romans. Celsus exaggerating this fact, and ignoring the many exceptions, scoffingly remarked, that "weavers, cobblers, and fullers, the most

illiterate persons" preached the "irrational faith," and knew how to commend it especially "to women and children."

But in spite of these extraordinary difficulties Christianity made a progress, which furnished striking evidence of its divinity, and was employed as such by Irenaeus, Justin, Tertullian and other fathers of that day. Nay, the very hindrances became, in the hands of Providence, helps. Persecution led to martyrdom, and martyrdom had not terrors alone, but also attractions, and not rarely spread as by contagion. Every genuine martyr was a living proof of the truth and holiness of the Christian religion. Tertullian can exclaim to the heathen: "All your ingenious cruelties can accomplish nothing; they are only a lure to this sect. Our number increases the more you destroy us. The blood of the Christians is their seed." The moral earnestness of the Christians contrasted powerfully with the prevailing corruption of the age, and while it repelled the frivolous and voluptuous, it could not fail to impress most strongly the deepest and noblest minds. The predilection of the poor and oppressed for the gospel attested its comforting and redeeming power. But others also, from the higher and educated classes, were from the first attracted to the new religion; such men as Nicodemus, the apostle Paul, the proconsul Sergius Paulus, Dionysius of Athens, Erastus of Corinth, and some members of the imperial household. Among the sufferers in Domitian's persecution were his own near kinswoman Flavia Domitilla and her husband Flavius Clemens. The senatorial and equestrian orders furnished several converts open or concealed. Pliny laments, that in Asia Minor men of every rank, *omnis ordinis*, go over to the Christians. The numerous church fathers from the middle of the second century, a Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, excelled, or at least equalled in talent and culture, their most eminent heathen contemporaries. Nor was this progress confined to any particular localities. It extended alike over all parts of the empire. "We are a people of yesterday," says Tertullian in his Apology, "and yet we have filled every place

belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum! We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater.” All these facts expose the injustice of the odious charge of Celsus, repeated by a modern sceptic, that the new sect was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace—of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves.

The chief positive cause of the rapid spread of Christianity is to be found in its own absolute intrinsic worth, as the only true, divinely revealed, universal religion of redemption. Thus its value could be seen in the truth and self-evidencing power of its doctrines; in the purity and elevation of its precepts; in its regenerating and sanctifying effects on heart and life; in the faith, the brotherly love, the beneficence, and the triumphant death of its confessors; in its adaptation to all classes, conditions, and relations among men. To this were added the powerful outward proof of its divine origin in the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, so strikingly fulfilled in the New; and finally, the testimony of the miracles, which, according to the express statement of Quadratus, of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and others, continued in this period to accompany the preaching of missionaries from time to time, for the conversion of the heathen.

Particularly favorable outward circumstances were the extent, order, and unity of the Roman empire, and the prevalence of the Grecian culture.

In addition to these positive causes, Christianity had a powerful negative advantage in the hopeless condition of the Jewish and heathen world. Since the fearful judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem, Judaism wandered restless and accursed, without national existence. Heathenism outwardly held sway, but was inwardly rotten and in process of inevitable decay. The popular religion and public morality were undermined by a sceptical and materialistic philosophy; Grecian science and art had lost their creative energy; the Roman empire rested only on the power of the sword and of temporal interests: the moral bonds of society

were sundered; unbounded avarice and vice of every kind, even by the confession of a Tacitus and a Seneca, reigned in Rome and in the provinces, from the throne to the hovel. Nothing, that classic antiquity in its fairest days had produced, could heal the fatal wounds of the age, or even give transient relief. The only star of hope in the gathering night was the young, the fresh, the dauntless religion of Jesus, fearless of death, strong in faith, glowing with love, and destined to commend itself more and more to all reflecting minds as the only living religion of the present and the future. "Christ appeared," says Augustine, "to the men of the decrepit, decaying world, that while all around them was withering away, they might through him receive new, youthful life."

The gospel was propagated chiefly, of course, by the living preaching of the gospel and by personal intercourse; to a considerable extent also through the sacred Scriptures, which were early propagated and translated into various tongues, especially the Latin and the Syriac. Communication among the different parts of the Roman empire from Damascus to Britain was comparatively easy and safe. The highways built for commerce and for the Roman legions, served also the messengers of peace and the silent conquests of the cross.

The particular mode, as well as the precise time, of the introduction of Christianity into the several countries during this period is for the most part uncertain, and we know not much more than the fact itself. No doubt much more was done by the apostles and their immediate disciples, than the New Testament informs us of. But on the other hand the mediæval tradition assigns an apostolic origin to many national and local churches which cannot have arisen before the second or third century. Besides the regular ministry, slaves and women particularly appear to have performed missionary service, and to have introduced the Christian life into all circles of society. Commerce too, at that time as well as now, was a powerful agency in carrying the Gospel and the seeds of Christian civilization to the remotest parts of the Roman empire.

§ 48. *Christianity in Asia and Africa.*

Justin Martyr says, about the middle of the second century: "There is no people, Greek or barbarian, or of any other race, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in covered waggons—among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and creator of all things." This, and similar passages of Tertullian, Origen, and Arnobius, are evidently rhetorical exaggerations. But it may be fairly asserted, that about the end of the third century the name of Christ was known, revered, and persecuted in every province and every town of the empire. Maximin, in one of his edicts, says that "almost all" had abandoned the worship of their ancestors for the new sect. In the absence of all statistics, the number of the Christians must be purely a matter of conjecture.¹ In all probability it amounted at the time to about one-tenth of the subjects of Rome; and the fact, that these were a closely united body, daily increasing, while the heathen were for the most part a loose aggregation, daily diminishing with the increase of the others, made the true prospective strength of the church much greater.

The propagation of Christianity among the barbarians in the provinces of Asia and the north-west of Europe beyond the Roman empire, was at first, of course, too remote from the current of history to be of any great immediate importance. But it prepared the way for the civilization of those regions, and their subsequent position in the world.

ASIA was the cradle of Christianity, as it was of humanity and civilization. The apostles themselves had spread the new religion over Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. According to the younger Pliny, under Trajan, the temples of the gods in Asia Minor were almost forsaken, and animals of sacrifice found hardly

¹ Gibbon estimates this number at the accession of Constantine evidently too low at one-twentieth. Matter and Robertson too high at one-fifth of his subjects.

any purchasers. In the second century Christianity penetrated to Edessa in Mesopotamia, and some distance into Persia, Media, Bactria, and Parthia; and in the third, into Armenia and Arabia. Paul himself had, indeed, spent three years in Arabia, but probably in contemplative retirement, preparing for his apostolic ministry.¹ There is a legend, that the apostles Thomas and Bartholomew carried the gospel to India. But a more credible statement is, that the Christian teacher Pantaenus of Alexandria journeyed to that country about 190, and that in the fourth century churches were found there.

In AFRICA Christianity gained firm foothold first in Egypt, and there probably as early as the apostolic age. According to uncontradicted tradition the evangelist Mark laid the foundation of the church of Alexandria, the metropolis of Egyptian commerce and of oriental Grecian culture. The first bishops of that church are named by Eusebius as Annianos (62–85), Abilios (to 98), and Kerdon (to 110). So early as the second century a flourishing theological school existed there, in which Clement and Origen taught. From Lower Egypt the gospel spread to Middle and Upper Egypt and the adjacent provinces, perhaps as far as Ethiopia and Abyssinia. At a council of Alexandria in the year 235, twenty bishops were present from the different parts of Egypt.

In proconsular Africa and its capital, Carthage, Christianity arrived in the second century, if not in the first, and probably from Rome. In Tertullian that province became the birth-place of Latin theology. On the burning sands of Mauritania and Numidia, about the middle of the third century, the Christians were so numerous, that Cyprian could assemble in 258 a synod of eighty-seven bishops. In 308 the schismatical Donatists alone held a council of two hundred and seventy bishops at Carthage. Though at that period the dioceses were no doubt much smaller than in later times.

¹ Gal. i. 17.

§ 49. *Christianity in Europe.*

The church of Rome was by far the most important one for all the west. According to Eusebius, it had in the middle of the third century one bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons with as many sub-deacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty readers, exorcists, and door-keepers, and fifteen hundred widows and poor persons under its care. From this we might estimate the number of members at some fifty or sixty thousand, i.e. about one-twentieth of the population of the city, which cannot be accurately determined indeed, but must have exceeded one million during the reign of the Caesars.¹

From Rome the church spread to all the cities of Italy. The first Roman provincial synod, of which we have information, numbered 12 bishops under the presidency of Telesphorus (142-154). In the middle of the third century (255) Cornelius of Rome held a council of sixty bishops.

The persecution of the year 177 shows the church already planted in the south of Gaul in the second century. Christianity came hither probably from the East; for the churches of Lyons and Vienne were intimately connected with those of Asia Minor, to which they sent a report of the persecution, and Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, was a disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna. Gregory of Tours states, that in the middle of the third century seven missionaries were sent from Rome to Gaul. One of these, Dionysius, founded the first church of Paris, died a martyr at Montmartre, and became the patron saint of France. Popular superstition afterwards confounded him with Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by Paul at Athens.

Spain probably became acquainted with Christianity likewise in the second century, though no clear traces of churches and

¹ Gibbon, in his thirty-first chapter, and Milman estimate the population of Rome at 1,200,000; Hoeck (on the basis of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*), Zumpt and Howson at two millions; Bunsen somewhat lower; while Dureau de la Malle tries to reduce it to half a million on the ground that the walls of Servius Tullius occupied an area only one fifth of that of Paris. But these walls no longer marked the limits of the city since its reconstruction after the conflagration under Nero, and the suburbs stretched to an unlimited extent into the country.

bishops there meet us till the middle of the third. The council of Eliberis in 305 numbered nineteen bishops. The apostle Paul once formed the plan of a journey to Spain¹, but probably never carried it out, unless the much disputed phrase, "limit of the west," in a passage of Clement, must mean this country. The legend, that James the Elder, who was executed at Jerusalem in 44, brought the gospel to Spain, and now lies buried at Compostella, the famous place of pilgrimage, where his bones were first discovered under Alphonso II., towards the close of the eighth century, is absurd, and rests on a chronological impossibility.

When Irenaeus speaks of the preaching of the gospel among the Germans and other barbarians, who, "without paper and ink, have salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Ghost," he can refer only to the parts of Germany belonging to the Roman empire, *Germania cisrhenana*.

According to Tertullian Britain also was brought under the power of the cross towards the end of the second century. The gospel came thither probably first from the East through south Gaul, and afterwards from Italy also. The venerable Bede († 735) says, that the British king Lucius (about 167) applied to the Roman bishop Eleutherus for missionaries. At the council of Arelate in 314 three British bishops, of Eboracum (York), Londinum (London), and Colonia Londinensium² (Lincoln), were present.

¹ Rom. xv. 24.

² Which is supposed to be a mistake for Col. *Lindensium*

CHAPTER II.

PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

- I. EUSEBIUS: H. E., particularly Lib. viii. and ix. LACTANTIUS: *De mortibus persecutorum*. The Apologies of JUSTIN MARTYR, MINUCIUS FELIX, TERTULLIAN, and ORIGEN, and the Epistles of CYPRIAN. THEOD. RUINART: *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta*. Par. 1689. 2nd ed. Amstel. 1713 (covering the first 4 cents.). Several biographies in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Antw. 1643 sqq. Les Acts des martyrs depuis l'origine de l'église Chrétienne jusqu'à nos temps. Traduits et publiés par les R.R. P.P. bénédictins de la congreg. de France. Par. 1857 sqq.
- II. J. Fox: *Acts and Monuments of the Church* (commonly called *Book of Martyrs*), first publ. Lond. 1553, and very often since. KORTHOLDT: *De persecutionibus eccl. primaevae*. Kiloni, 1629. GIBBON: chap. xvi. MÜNTER: *Die Christin im heidnischen Hause vor Constantin*. Copenh. 1828. SCHUMANN VON MANSEGG (R.C.): *Die Verfolgungen der ersten christlichen Kirche*. Vienna, 1821. AD. SCHMIDT: *Geschichte der Denk- u. Glaubensfreiheit in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kaiserherrschaft*. Berl. 1847. KRITZLER: *Die Heldenzeiten des Christenthums*. Vol. i. *Der Kampf mit dem Heidenthum*. Leipz. 1856.

§ 50. *Jewish Persecution.*

- FR. MÜNTER: *Der Judische Krieg unter Trajan u. Hadrian*. Altona and Leipz. 1821. DEYLING: *Aeliae Capitol. origines et historiae*. Lips. 1743.

The persecutions of the Christian church proceeded partly from the Jews and partly from the Gentiles. The Jews had already displayed their obstinate unbelief and bitter hatred of the gospel in the crucifixion of Christ, the stoning of Stephen, the execution of James the Elder, the repeated incarcerations of Peter and John, the wild rage against Paul, and the murder of James the Just. No wonder, that the fearful judgment of God at last visited this ingratitude upon them in the destruction of the holy city and the temple, from which the Christians found refuge in Pella

But this tragical fate could break only the national power of the Jews, not their hatred of Christianity. They caused the death of Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem (107); they were particularly active in the burning of Polycarp of Smyrna; and they inflamed the violence of the Gentiles by calumniating the sect of the Nazarenes.

By severe oppression under Trajan and Hadrian, and the desecration of Jerusalem with the idolatry of the pagans, the Jews were provoked to a new insurrection (A.D. 132-135). A pseudo-Messiah, Bar-Cochba (son of the stars, Num. xxiv. 17), afterwards called Bar-Cosiba (son of falsehood), put himself at the head of the rebels, and caused all the Christians who would not join him, to be most cruelly murdered. But the false prophet was defeated by Hadrian's general in 135, more than a half million of Jews slaughtered after a desperate resistance, Palestine entirely laid waste, Jerusalem again destroyed, and a Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina, erected on its ruins with an image of Jupiter and a temple of Venus. The Jews were forbidden to visit the holy spot upon pain of death; only on the anniversary of the destruction were they allowed to behold and bewail it from a neighboring hill.

After this they had no opportunity for any further independent persecution of the Christians. Yet they continued to circulate horrible calumnies on Jesus and his followers. Their learned schools at Tiberias and Babylon nourished this bitter hostility. The Talmud, of which the first part (the Mishna) was composed towards the end of the second century, and the second part (the Gemara) in the fourth century, well represents the Judaism of its day, stiff, traditional, stagnant, and anti-Christian. Subsequently the Jerusalem Talmud was eclipsed by the Babylonian (430-521), a still more distinct expression of Rabbinism. The terrible imprecation on apostates (*precatio haereticorum*), designed to deter Jews from going over to the Christian faith, comes from the second century, and is stated by the Talmud to have been composed at Jafna, where the Sanhedrim at that time had its seat, by the younger Rabbi Gamaliel.

Unfortunately, this people, still remarkable even in its tragical end, was in many ways cruelly oppressed and persecuted by the Christians after Constantine, and thereby only confirmed in its fanatical hatred of them. But through all changes of fortune God has preserved it as a living monument of his justice and his mercy; and he will undoubtedly assign it an important part in the consummation of his kingdom at the second coming of Christ.

§ 51. *Heathen Persecution. Its Causes and Effects.*

See Liter. before § 50.

The policy of the Roman government, the fanaticism of the superstitious people, and the self-interest of the pagan priests conspired for the persecution of a religion, which threatened to demolish the tottering fabric of idolatry; and they left no expedients of legislation, of violence, of craft, and of wickedness untried, to blot it from the earth.

Justin, Tertullian, and other early church teachers traced the persecution of the Christians ultimately to Satan and the demons, but ascribed to it at the same time an ethical character as a punishment for past sins, a school of Christian virtue, or a means of awakening faith. Some denied that martyrdom, or death in general, was an evil, since it only brought Christians the sooner to God, the goal of their hopes.

To glance first at the relation of the Roman state to the Christian religion. So long as Christianity was regarded by the Romans as a mere sect of Judaism, it shared the hatred and contempt, indeed, but also the legal protection bestowed on that ancient national religion. It was at first considered by the better classes, even by the great historian Tacitus, as a vulgar superstition, hardly worthy of their notice. But it was far too important a phenomenon, and made far too rapid progress to be long thus ignored. So soon as it was understood in its true character as a *new* religion, and as, in fact, claiming universal validity and acceptance, it was set down as unlawful and treasonable, a

religio illicita; and it was the constant reproach of the Christians: you have no right to exist.¹

For with all its professed tolerance the Roman state was thoroughly interwoven with heathen idolatry, and made religion a tool of its policy. The emperor was ex-officio the *pontifex maximus*; the gods were national; and the eagle of Jupiter Capitolinus moved as a good genius before the world-conquering legions. Cicero lays down as a principle of legislation, that no one should be allowed to worship foreign gods, unless they were recognised by public statute.² Maecenas counselled Augustus: "Honor the gods according to the custom of our ancestors, and compel³ others to worship them. Hate and punish those who bring in strange gods." The ancient world generally was based upon the absolutism of the state, which mercilessly trampled under foot the individual rights of men. It is Christianity which first taught and acknowledged them. The Christian apologists first proclaimed, however imperfectly, the principle of freedom of religion, and the sacred rights of conscience. Tertullian, in prophetic anticipation as it were of the modern Protestant theory, boldly tells the heathen that everybody had a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to his conviction, that all compulsion in matters of conscience was contrary to the very nature of religion, and that no form of worship had any value whatever except as far as it was a free voluntary homage of the heart.⁴

It is true the senate and emperor, by special edicts, usually allowed conquered nations the free practice of their worship even in Rome; not, however, from regard for the sacred rights of conscience, but merely from policy, and with the express prohibition of making proselytes from the state religion, hence severe laws were published from time to time against transition to Judaism.

¹ Non licet esse vos.

² Nisi publice adscitos.

³ ἀνάγκη, according to Dio Cassius.

⁴ See the remarkable passage ad Scapulam c. 2: Tamen *humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique* quod putaverit colere, nec alii obest aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quae *sponte* suscipi debeat, non vi,

To Christianity, appearing not as a national religion, but claiming to be the only true universal one, and threatening in fact the existence of the Roman state religion, even this limited toleration could not apply. The same all-absorbing political interest of Rome dictated here the opposite course, and Tertullian is hardly just in charging the Romans with inconsistency for tolerating the worship of all false gods, from whom they had nothing to fear, and prohibiting the worship of the only true God who is Lord over all.¹ Born under Augustus, and crucified under Tiberius at the sentence of the Roman magistrate, Christ stood as the founder of a spiritual universal empire at the head of the most important epoch of the Roman power, a rival not to be endured. The reign of Constantine subsequently showed that the free toleration of Christianity was the death-blow to the Roman state religion.

Then, too, the conscientious refusal of the Christians to pay divine honors to the emperor and his statue, and to take part in any idolatrous ceremonies at public festivities, their aversion to the imperial military service, their disregard for politics and depreciation of all civil and temporal affairs as compared with the spiritual and eternal interests of man, their close brotherly union and frequent meetings, drew upon them the suspicion of hostility to the Caesars and the Roman people,² and the unpardonable crime of conspiracy against the state.

The common people also, with their polytheistic ideas, abhorred the believers in the one God as atheists and enemies of the gods. They readily gave credit to the slanderous rumors of all sorts of abominations, even incest and cannibalism, practised by the

cum et hostiae ab animo libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum, nihil praestabitis diis vestris. Ab invitis enim sacrificia non desiderabunt, nisi si contentiosi sunt; contentiosus autem deus non est. Comp. the similar passage in Tert. Apolog. c. 24, where after enumerating the various forms of idolatry which enjoyed free toleration in the empire he continues: Videte enim ne et hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis et interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim sed cogar colere quem nolum. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem.

¹ Apolog. c. 24 at the close: Apud vos quodvis colere jus est praeter Deum verum, quasi non hic magis omnium sit Deus cuius omnes sumus.

² Hence the reproachful designation, "Hostes Caesarum et populi Romani."

Christians at their religious assemblies and love-feasts, and regarded the frequent public calamities of that age as punishments justly inflicted by the angry gods for the disregard of their worship. In North Africa arose the proverb: "If God does not send rain, lay it to the Christians." At every inundation, or drought, or famine, or pestilence, the fanatical populace cried: "Away with the atheists! To the lions with the Christians!"

Finally, persecutions were sometimes started by priests, jugglers, artificers, merchants, and others, who derived their support from the idolatrous worship. These, like Demetrius at Ephesus,¹ and the masters of the sorceress at Philippi,² kindled the fanaticism and indignation of the mob against the new religion for its interference with their gains.

From the fourth century it has been customary, at the suggestion of the ten plagues of Egypt taken as types,³ and the ten horns making war with the Lamb in the Apocalypse,⁴ taken for as many Roman emperors, to reckon ten great persecutions of the Christians, under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Maximinus, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian, respectively. But this number is in any view incorrect; too great for the general persecutions, and far too small for the provincial and local. It is a remarkable fact, that some of the best emperors, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Decius, and Diocletian, were among the severest persecutors, because they were really concerned about the laws of the state and the maintenance of the ancient fabric; while some of the most worthless, Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, were rather favorable to the Christians, though of course not from principle, but only from caprice. In Nero, Domitian, and Galerius, on the contrary, the hatred of the Christians was coupled with the most unnatural cruelty and the most shameless vice.

This long-continued and bloody war against that church which was built upon a rock, utterly failed of its end. Aiming to exterminate, it only purified. It called forth the virtues of Christian heroism, and resulted only in the confirmation and spread of the

¹ Acts xix. 24.² Acts xvi. 16.³ Exod. v.-x.

Rev. xvii. 12 sqq.

new religion. The philosophy of these persecutions is briefly and well expressed by Tertullian, who lived in the midst of them in his well-known word: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church"—"*Semen est sanguis Christianorum.*"

§ 52. *Condition of the Church from Nero to Nerva.*

SUETON.: Claud. c. 25. Nero, c. 16. TACIT.: Annal. XV. 44. DIO CASS. (Epit. Xiphil.) LXVII. 14. EUSEB.: Chron. II. ad Olymp. 218. H. Eccl. III. 13, 15.

The first persecutions by the Roman emperors fall in the apostolic age, but may be briefly noticed here for the sake of the connexion.

The tradition, that Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), frightened by Pilate's account of the death and resurrection of the Redeemer, proposed to the senate, without success, the enrolment of Christ among the Roman deities, rests only on the questionable authority of Tertullian. The edict of Claudius (42–54) in the year 53, banishing the Jews from Rome for sedition, fell also upon the Christians, but only through the mistake of the government, which at that time confounded them with the Jews.

The succession of proper persecutors among the emperors opens with Nero (54–68), who is branded in history as in other respects a heartless tyrant, the murderer of his mother, of his wife, of his preceptors (Burrus and Seneca), and at last of himself. The awful persecution of the year 64, in which, soon after the six days' conflagration of Rome, a great multitude of innocent Christians were tortured to death with the most exquisite cruelties, has already been mentioned in the first period in connexion with the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.¹ It was not occasioned, indeed, directly by the religion of the sufferers, but by the malicious imputation to them of the incendiarism, of which the emperor himself was guilty. Yet it indicates a popular prepossession against the Christians; and Tacitus, in fact, says, that they were charged not with the incendiarism, but with misanthropy, and were suspected of other crimes.² Thus this diaboli

¹ § 17, p. 64. ² *Per flagitia invisos.*

cal movement was a general declaration of war against the new religion. It became a common saying among the Christians, that Nero would reappear as antichrist.

During the rapidly succeeding reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus, the church, so far as we know, enjoyed repose. But under Domitian (81-96), a suspicious and blasphemous tyrant, accustomed to call himself and to be called "Lord and God," a new persecution broke out. This emperor treated the embracing of Christianity as a crime against the state, and condemned to death many Christians, even his own cousin, the consul Flavius Clemens, on the charge of atheism; or confiscated their property, and sent them, as in the case of the apostle John, and of Domitilla, the wife of the Clemens just mentioned, into exile. His jealousy also led him to destroy the surviving descendants of David; and he brought from Palestine to Rome two kinsmen of Jesus, grandsons of Judas the "brother of the Lord," but seeing their poverty and rustic simplicity, and hearing their explanation of the kingdom of Christ as not earthly, but heavenly, to be established by the Lord at the end of the world, when he should come to judge the quick and the dead, he let them go. Tradition assigns to the reign of Domitian the banishment of St. John to Patmos (also his miraculous preservation from martyrdom by boiling oil in Rome, which is attested, however, only by Tertullian), and the martyrdom of Andrew, Mark, Onesimus, and Dionysius the Areopagite.

His humane and justice-loving successor, Nerva (96-98), recalled the banished, and refused to treat the confession of Christianity as a political crime, though he did not recognise the new religion as a *religio licita*.

§ 53. *From Trajan to Antoninus Pius.*

PLINIUS, jun.: Epist. X. 96 and 97 (al. 97 sq.). EUSEB.: H. E. III. 11, 32, 36.
Acta Martyrii Ignatii, in RUINART, p. 8 sqq. JUSTIN: Apol. I. c. 68

Trajan (A.D. 98-117), one of the best and most praiseworthy emperors, honored as the "father of his country," but, like his

friends, Tacitus and Pliny, wholly ignorant of the nature of Christianity, was the first to pronounce it in form a proscribed religion, as it had been all along in fact. He revived the rigid laws against all secret societies,¹ and the provincial officers applied them to the Christians, on account of their frequent meetings for worship. The younger Pliny, for example, did this in Bithynia, of which he was then governor. He saw in Christianity only a "*prava et immodica superstitio*." In a remarkable letter to the emperor he says, that this superstition is constantly spreading not only in the cities, but also in the villages of Asia Minor, and captivates people of every age, rank, and sex, so that the temples are almost forsaken and the sacrificial victims find no sale. To stop this progress, he condemned many Christians to death, and sent others, who were Roman citizens, to the imperial tribunal. But he requested of the emperor further instructions, whether, in these efforts, he should have respect to age; whether he should treat the mere bearing of the Christian name as a crime, if there were no other offence, &c.

To these inquiries Trajan replied: "You have adopted the right course, my friend, with regard to the Christians; for no universal rule, to be applied to all cases, can be fixed in this matter. They should not be searched for; but when accused and convicted, they should be punished; yet if any one denies that he has been a Christian, and proves it by action, namely, by worshipping our gods, he is to be pardoned upon his repentance, even though suspicion may still cleave to him from his antecedents. But anonymous accusations must not be admitted in any criminal process; it sets a bad example, and is contrary to our age" (i. e. to the spirit of Trajan's government).

This decision was much milder than might have been expected from a heathen emperor of the old Roman stamp. Tertullian charges it with self-contradiction, as both cruel and lenient, forbidding searching for Christians and commanding their punishment, thus declaring them innocent and guilty at the same time. But the emperor evidently proceeded on political principles, and

¹ ἑσθηρίαι.

thought that a transient and contagious enthusiasm, as Christianity in his judgment was, could be suppressed sooner by leaving it unnoticed, than by openly assailing it. Though every day it forced itself more and more upon public attention, as it spread with the irresistible power of truth.

This rescript might give occasion, according to the sentiment of governors, for extreme severity towards Christianity as a secret union and a *religio illicita*. Even the humane Pliny tells us that he applied the rack to tender women. Syria and Palestine suffered heavy persecutions in this reign. Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and, like his predecessor James, a kinsman of Jesus, was accused by fanatical Jews, and crucified in the year 107, at the age of a hundred and twenty years. In the same year, or according to others in 115, the distinguished bishop Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of the apostles, was condemned by Trajan and suffered martyrdom in Rome.¹

Hadrian (117–138), though zealously devoted to the *sacra Romana*, was yet mild towards the Christians, and directed the Asiatic proconsul to check the popular fury against them, and to punish only those who should be, by an orderly judicial process, convicted of transgression of the laws. Unquestionably, however, he regarded the mere profession of Christianity as itself such a transgression. The Christian apologies, which took their rise under this emperor, indicate a very bitter public sentiment against the Christians, and a critical condition of the church.

Antoninus Pius (138–161) protected the Christians still more decidedly from the tumultuous violence which broke out against them on account of the frequent public calamities. But the edict ascribed to him, addressed to the deputies of the Asiatic cities,² testifying to the innocence of the Christians, and holding them up to the heathens as models of fidelity and zeal in the worship of God, could hardly have come from an emperor, who bore the honorable title of Pius for his conscientious adherence to the religion of his fathers.

¹ Comp. below, § 119.

² Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας.

§ 54. *Persecutions under Marcus Aurelius.*

MARC. AUREL.: Πρὸς εἰαυτόν XI. 3. The letter of the church of Smyrna to the Christians of Pontus, in EUSEB.: H. E. IV. 15, and published more fully by Usher, 1647. The letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne to the Christians of Asia Minor, in EUSEB.: V. 1-3 and in ROUTH, *Reliqu. s.*, I. 295-324. On the miracle of the *legio fulminatrix*, see TERTULL.: *Apolog.* 5. EUSEB.: V. 5. DIO CASS.: lxxi. 8.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180), though a well educated, just, and noble-minded emperor, could still, as a Stoic philosopher and a devotee of the old Roman religion and morality, have no sympathy with Christianity, but held it an absurd and fanatical superstition; and his reign was a stormy time for the church. About the year 170 the apologist Melito wrote: "The race of the worshippers of God in Asia is now persecuted by new edicts as it never has been heretofore; shameless, greedy sycophants, finding occasion in the edicts, now plunder the innocent day and night." The empire was visited at that time with a number of conflagrations, a destructive flood of the Tiber, an earthquake, insurrections, and particularly a pestilence, which spread from Ethiopia to Gaul. This gave rise to two bloody persecutions, in which government and people united against the enemies of the gods and the supposed authors of these misfortunes. But at the same time these persecutions, and the simultaneous literary assault on Christianity by Celsus and Lucian, show that the new religion was constantly gaining importance in the empire.

The first of these great persecutions took place in Asia Minor in the year 167. One of its victims was the venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, a personal disciple and friend of the apostle John. He steadfastly refused before the proconsul to deny his King and Saviour, whom he had served six and eighty years, and from whom he had experienced nothing but love and mercy; and he joyfully went up to the stake, and amidst the flames praised God for having deemed him worthy "to be numbered among his martyrs, to drink of the cup of Christ's sufferings, unto the eternal resurrection of the soul and the body in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost." The somewhat fanciful account

in the letter of the church of Smyrna states, that the flames avoided the body of the saint, leaving it unharmed, like gold tried in the fire; also the Christian bystanders insisted, that they perceived a sweet odor, as of incense. Then the executioner thrust his sword into the body, and the stream of blood at once extinguished the flame. The corpse was burned after the Roman custom, but the bones were preserved by the church and held more precious than gold and diamonds. The death of this last witness of the apostolic age checked the fury of the populace, and the proconsul suspended the persecution.

Ten years after this, in 177, the churches of Lyons and Vienne in the south of France underwent a trial equally severe. Heathen slaves were forced by the rack to declare, that their Christian masters practised all the unnatural vices which rumor charged them with; and this was made to justify the exquisite tortures to which the Christians were subjected. But the sufferers, "strengthened by the fountain of living water from the heart of Christ," displayed extraordinary faith and steadfastness, and felt, that "nothing can be fearful, where the love of the Father is, nothing painful, where shines the glory of Christ."

The most distinguished victims of this Gallic persecution were the bishop Pothinus, who, at the age of ninety years, and just recovered from a sickness, was subjected to all sorts of abuse, and then thrown into a dismal dungeon, where he died in two days; the virgin Blandina, a slave, who showed almost superhuman strength and constancy under the most cruel tortures, and was at last thrown to a wild beast in a net; Ponticus, a boy of fifteen years, who could be deterred by no sort of cruelty from confessing his Saviour. The corpses of the martyrs, which covered the streets, were shamefully mutilated, then burned, and the ashes cast into the Rhone, lest any remnants of the enemies of the gods might desecrate the soil. At last the people grew weary of slaughter, and a considerable number of Christians survived. The martyrs of Lyons distinguished themselves by true humility, disclaiming in their prison that title of honor, as due only, they said, to the faithful and true Witness, the First-born

from the dead, the Prince of life,' and to those of his followers who had already sealed their fidelity to Christ with their blood.

About the same time a persecution of less extent appears to have visited Autun (Augustodunum) near Lyons. Symphorinus, a young man of good family, having refused to fall down before the image of Cybele, and being condemned to be beheaded, on his way to the place of execution his own mother called to him: "My son, be firm and fear not that death, which so surely leads to life. Look to Him who reigns in heaven. To-day is thy earthly life not taken from thee, but transformed by a blessed exchange into the life of heaven."

The story of the "thundering legion"² rests on the fact of a remarkable deliverance of the Roman army in Hungary by a sudden shower, which quenched their burning thirst and frightened their barbarian enemies, A.D. 174. The heathens, however, attributed this not to the prayers of the Christian soldiers, but to their own gods. The emperor himself prayed to Jupiter: "This hand, which has never yet shed human blood, I raise to thee." That this event did not alter his views respecting the Christians, is proved by the persecution in South Gaul, which broke out three years later.

Of isolated cases of martyrdom in this reign, we notice that of Justin Martyr, at Rome, in the year 166.³

Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by his cruel and contemptible son, Commodus (180-192), who, however, was accidentally made to favor the Christians by the influence of a concubine,⁴ Marcia, and accordingly did not disturb them. Yet under his reign a Roman senator, Apollonius, was put to death for his faith.

§ 55. *Condition of the Church from Septimius Severus to Philip the Arabian.*

CLEMENS ALEX.: *Strom.* II. 414. TERTULL.: *Ad Scapulam*, c. 4, 5. *Apolog.* (A.D. 198), c. 7, 12, 30, 37, 49. Respecting the Alexandrian martyrs

¹ Rev. i. 5.

³ Comp. § 122.

² *Legio fulminatrix*, *αερανεοφόρος*.

⁴ *φιλόθεος* *πιλλανή*.

comp. EUSEB.: VI. 1 and 5. The Acts of the Carthaginian martyrs, which contain their *ipsissima verba* from their diaries in the prisons, but bear a somewhat Montanistic stamp, see in RUINART: p. 90 sqq. LAMPRIID.: Vita Alex. Severi, c. 22, 29, 49. On Philip the Arabian see EUSEB.: VI. 34, 36. Hieron.: Chron. ad ann. 246.

With Septimius Severus (193–211), who was of Punic descent and had a Syrian wife, a line of emperors (Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus) came to the throne, who were rather Oriental than Roman in their spirit, and were therefore far less concerned than the Antonines to maintain the old state religion. Yet towards the close of the third century there was no lack of local persecutions; and Clement of Alexandria wrote of those times: “Many martyrs are daily burned, confined, or beheaded, before our eyes.”

In the beginning of the third century (202) Septimius Severus, turned perhaps by Montanistic excesses, enacted a rigid law against the further spread both of Christianity and of Judaism. This occasioned violent persecutions in Egypt and in North Africa, and produced some of the fairest flowers of martyrdom.

In Alexandria, in consequence of this law, Leonides, father of the renowned Origen, was beheaded. Potamiaena, a virgin of rare beauty of body and spirit, was threatened by beastly passion with treatment worse than death, and, after cruel tortures, slowly burned with her mother in boiling pitch. One of the executioners, Basilides, smitten with sympathy, shielded them somewhat from abuse, and soon after their death embraced Christianity, and was beheaded. He declared that Potamiaena had appeared to him in the night, interceded with Christ for him, and set upon his head the martyr's crown.

In Carthage some catechumens, three young men and two young women, probably of the sect of the Montanists, showed remarkable steadfastness and fidelity in the dungeon and at the place of execution. Perpetua, a young woman of noble birth, resisting, not without a violent struggle, both the entreaties of her aged heathen father and the appeal of her helpless babe upon her breast, sacrificed the deep and tender feelings of a daughter

and a mother to the Lord who died for her. Felicitas, a slave, when delivered of a child in the same dungeon, answered the jailor, who reminded her of the still keener pains of martyrdom: "Now *I* suffer, what *I* suffer; but then another will suffer for me, because *I* shall suffer for him." All remaining firm, they were cast to wild beasts at the next public festival, having first interchanged the parting kiss in hope of a speedy reunion in heaven.

The same state of things continued through the first years of Caracalla (211-217), though this gloomy misanthrope passed no laws against the Christians.

The abandoned youth, El-Gabal, or Heliogabalus (218-222), who polluted the throne by the blackest vices and follies, tolerated all religions in hope of at last merging them in his favorite Syrian worship of the sun, with its abominable excesses. He himself was a priest of the god of the sun, and thence took his name.¹

His far more worthy cousin and successor, Alexander Severus (222-235), was addicted to a higher kind of religious eclecticism and syncretism, a pantheistic hero-worship. He placed the busts of Abraham and Christ in his domestic chapel with those of Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, and the better Roman emperors, and had the gospel rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," engraven on the walls of his palace and on public monuments. His mother, Julia Mamaea, was a patroness of Origen.

His assassin, Maximus the Thracian (235-238), first a herdsman, afterwards a soldier, fell again to persecution out of mere opposition to his predecessor, and gave free course to the popular fury against the enemies of the gods, which was at that time excited anew by an earthquake.

The legendary poesy of the tenth century assigns to his reign the fabulous martyrdom of St. Ursula, a British princess, and her company of eleven thousand (according to others, ten thousand)

¹ Unless we should prefer to derive it from הַר and בְּנֵי, "mountain of God."

virgins, who, on their return from a pilgrimage to Rome, were murdered by heathens in the neighborhood of Cologne. This incredible number has probably arisen from the misinterpretation of an inscription, like "Ursula et Undecimilla" (which occurs in an old missal of the Sorbonne), or "Ursula et XI M. V.," i. e. Martyres Virgines, which, by substituting millia for martyres, was increased from eleven martyrs to eleven thousand virgins. Some historians place the fact, which seems to form the basis of this legend, in connexion with the retreat of the Huns after the battle of Chalons, 451.

Gordianus (238-244) left the church undisturbed. Philip the Arabian (244-249) was even supposed by some to be a Christian, and was termed by Jerome "primus omnium ex Romanis imperatoribus Christianus." It is certain that Origen wrote letters to him and to his wife, Severa.

This season of repose, however, cooled the moral zeal and brotherly love of the Christians; and the mighty storm under the following reign served well to restore the purity of the church.

§ 56. *Persecutions under Decius and Valerian.*

DIONYS. ALEX., in Euseb. VI. 40-42. VII. 10, 11. CYPRIAN: De lapsis, and particularly his Epistles of this period. On Cyprian's martyrdom see the *Proconsular Acts*, and PONTIUS: Vita Cypr.

Decius Trajan (249-251), an earnest and energetic emperor, in whom the old Roman spirit once more awoke, resolved to root out the church as an atheistic and seditious sect, and in the year 250 published an edict to all the governors of the provinces, enjoining return to the pagan state religion under the heaviest penalties. This was the signal for a persecution which, in extent, consistency, and cruelty, exceeded all before it. In truth it was properly the first which covered the whole empire, and accordingly produced a far greater number of martyrs than any former persecution. In the execution of the imperial decree confiscation, exile, torture, promises and threats of all kinds, were employed to move the Christians to apostasy. Multitudes of nominal

Christians,¹ especially at the beginning, sacrificed to the gods (sacrificati, thurificati), or procured from the magistrate a false certificate that they had done so (libellatici), and were then excommunicated as apostates (lapsi); while hundreds rushed with impetuous zeal to the prisons and the tribunals, to obtain the confessor's or martyr's crown. The confessors of Rome wrote from prison to their brethren of Africa: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man by the grace of God, than to confess God the Lord amidst tortures and in the face of death itself; to confess Christ the Son of God with lacerated body and with a spirit departing, yet free; and to become fellow-sufferers with Christ in the name of Christ? Though we have not yet shed our blood, we are ready to do so. Pray for us, then, dear Cyprian, that the Lord, the best captain, would daily strengthen each one of us more and more, and at last lead us to the field as faithful soldiers, armed with those divine weapons² which can never be conquered."

The authorities were specially severe with the bishops and officers of the churches. Fabianus of Rome perished in the beginning of the persecution. Others withdrew to places of concealment; some from cowardice; some from Christian prudence, in hope of allaying by their absence the fury of the pagans against their flocks, and of saving their own lives for the good of the church in better times. Among the latter was Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who incurred much censure by his course, but fully vindicated himself by his pastoral industry during his absence, and by his subsequent martyrdom. He says concerning the matter: "Our Lord commanded us in times of persecution to yield and to fly. He taught this, and he practised it himself. For since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be gained before the appointed hour, he who retires for a time, and remains true to Christ, does not deny his faith, but only abides his time."

The poetical legend of the seven brothers at Ephesus, who fell asleep in a cave, whither they had fled, and awoke two hundred

¹ "Maximus fratrum numerus," says Cyprian.

² Eph. vi. 2.

years afterwards, under Theodosius II. (447), astonished to see the once despised and hated cross now ruling over city and country, dates itself internally from the time of Decius, but is not mentioned before Gregory of Tours in the sixth century.

Under Gallus (251-253) the persecution received a fresh impulse through the incursions of the Goths, and the prevalence of a pestilence, drought, and famine. Under this reign the Roman bishops Cornelius and Lucius were banished, and then condemned to death.

Valerian (253-260) was at first mild towards the Christians; but in 257 he changed his course, and made an effort to check the progress of their religion without bloodshed, by the banishment of ministers and prominent laymen, the confiscation of their property, and the prohibition of religious assemblies. These measures, however, proving fruitless, he brought the death penalty again into play.

The most distinguished martyrs of this persecution under Valerian are the bishops Sixtus II. of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage. When Cyprian received his sentence of death, representing him as an enemy of the Roman gods and laws, he calmly answered: "Deo gratias!" Then, attended by a vast multitude to the scaffold, he prayed once more, undressed himself, covered his eyes, requested a presbyter to bind his hands, and to pay the executioner, who tremblingly drew the sword, twenty-five pieces of gold, and won the incorruptible crown (Sept. 14, 258). His faithful friends caught the blood in handkerchiefs, and buried the body of their sainted pastor with great solemnity.

The much lauded martyrdom of the deacon St. Laurentius of Rome, who pointed the avaricious magistrates to the poor and sick of the congregation as the richest treasure of the church, and is said to have been slowly roasted to death (Aug. 10, 258), is scarcely reliable in its details, being first mentioned by Ambrose, a century later, and then glorified by the poet Prudentius. A Basilica on the Via Tiburtina celebrates the memory of this saint, who occupies the same position among the martyrs of the church of Rome as Stephen among those of Jerusalem.

Gallienus (260-268) gave peace to the church once more, and even acknowledged Christianity as a *religio licita*. And this calm continued forty years; for the edict of persecution, issued by the energetic and warlike Aurelian (270-275), was rendered void by his assassination, and the six emperors who rapidly followed, from 275 to 284, let the Christians alone.

§ 57. *The Dioclesian Persecution, and the Edict of Toleration.*

Euseb. l. viii.-x. LACTANT.: *De Mortibus persec.* c. 7 sqq. Comp. BURKHARDT: *Die Zeit Constantins des Gr.* Bas. 1853. p. 325 sqq.; and KEIM: *Die römischen Toleranzedikte für das Christenthum (311-313)*, in the "*Tüb. Theol. Jahrb.*" 1852.

This forty years' repose, which considerably enlarged the number and influence of the Christians indeed, but also abated their earnestness and zeal and favored their conformity to the world, was followed by the last and most violent persecution of the Roman empire, a struggle of life and death.

Dioclesian (284-305), one of the most judicious and able emperors, who, with four co-regents in a trying period, preserved the sinking state from dissolution, long respected the toleration edict of Gallienus; especially as his own wife Prisca, his daughter Valeria, and most of his eunuchs and court officers, besides many of the most prominent public functionaries, were Christians, or at least favorable to the Christian religion. But in his old age he was prevailed on by the urgency of his co-regent and son-in-law, Galerius, a cruel and fanatical pagan, to authorize the persecution which gave his glorious reign a disgraceful end. In 303 and 304 he issued in rapid succession four edicts, each more severe than its predecessor. Christian churches were to be destroyed; all copies of the Bible were to be burned; all Christians were to be deprived of public office and civil rights; and at last all, without exception, were to sacrifice to the gods upon pain of death. Pretext for this severity was afforded by the occurrence of fire twice in the palace of Nicomedia in Bithynia, where Dioclesian resided, and by the tearing down of the first

edict by an imprudent Christian (celebrated in the Greek church under the name of John), who vented in that way his abhorrence of such "godless and tyrannical rulers." But the opinion¹ that the edicts were occasioned by a conspiracy of the Christians, who, feeling their rising power, were for putting the government at once into Christian hands, by a stroke of state, is without any foundation in history.

The persecution began with the destruction of the magnificent church in Nicomedia, and soon spread over the whole Roman empire, except Gaul, Britain, and Spain, where the co-regent Constantius Chlorus, and especially his son, Constantine the Great (from 306), were disposed as far as possible to spare the Christians. It raged most fiercely in the East, where the barbarous Maximinus ruled, who in 308 enacted the law, that all provisions in the markets should be sprinkled with sacrificial wine, that the Christians might have no alternative but apostasy or starvation. All the pains, which iron and steel, fire and sword, rack and cross, wild beasts and beastly men could inflict, were employed to gain the useless end. Even the wild beasts, says Eusebius, at last refused to attack the Christians, as if they had assumed the part of men in place of the heathen Romans. The swords, says the same historian, contemporary, yet not free from rhetorical exaggeration, at last became dull and shattered; the executioners became weary, and had to relieve each other; but the Christians sang hymns of praise and thanksgiving in honor of Almighty God, even to their latest breath.

Here again the number of apostates, who preferred the earthly life to the heavenly, was very great. To these was now added also the new class of the *traditores*, who delivered the holy Scriptures to the heathen authorities, to be burned. But as the persecution raged, the zeal and fidelity of the Christians increased, and martyrdom spread as by contagion. Even boys and girls showed amazing firmness. In many the heroism of faith degenerated to a fanatical courting of death; confessors were almost worshipped,

¹ Recently expressed by Burkhardt in the work quoted.

while yet alive ; and the hatred towards apostates distracted many congregations, and produced the Meletian and Donatist schisms.

The martyrologies date from this period several legends, the germs of which, however, cannot now be clearly sifted from the additions of later poesy. The story of the destruction of the legio Thebaica is probably an exaggeration of the martyrdom of St. Mauritius, who was executed in Syria, as *tribunus militum*, with seventy soldiers, at the order of Maximinus. St. Agnes, whose memory the Latin church has celebrated ever since the fourth century, was, according to tradition, brought in chains before the judgment-seat in Rome, a girl of thirteen years ; was publicly exposed, and upon her steadfast confession put to the sword ; but afterwards appeared to her grieving parents at her grave with a white lamb and a host of shining virgins from heaven, and said : " Mourn me no longer as dead, for ye see that I live. Rejoice with me, that I am for ever united in heaven with the Saviour, whom on earth I loved with all my heart." Hence the lamb in the paintings of this saint ; and hence the consecration of lambs in her church at Rome at her festival (Jan. 21), from whose wool the pallium of the archbishop is made. So Agri-cola and Vitalis at Bologna, Gervasius and Protasius at Milan, whose bones were discovered in the time of Ambrose, are said to have attained martyrdom under Dioclesian.

This persecution was the last desperate struggle of Roman heathenism for its life. It was the crisis of utter extinction or absolute supremacy for each of the two religions. At the close of the contest the old Roman state religion lay dead. Dioclesian retired into private life in 305, under the curse of the Christians ; and in 313, when all the achievements of his reign were destroyed, he destroyed himself.

Galerius, the real author of the persecution, brought to reflection by a terrible disease, put an end to the slaughter shortly before his death by a remarkable edict of toleration, which he issued from Nicomedia in 311, in connexion with Constantine and Licinius. In that document he declared, that the purpose of reclaiming the Christians from their wilful innovation and the

multitude of their sects to the laws and discipline of the Roman state, was not accomplished; and that he would now grant them permission to hold their religious assemblies, provided they disturbed not the order of the state. To this he added in conclusion the remarkable instruction that the Christians, "after this manifestation of grace, should pray *to their God* for the welfare of the emperors, of the state, and of themselves, that the state might prosper in every respect, and that they might live quietly in their homes."

This edict brings the period of persecution in the Roman empire to a close. Maximinus, it is true, continued in every way to oppress and vex the church in the East, and the cruel pagan Maxentius did the same in Italy. But Constantine had already in 306 become emperor of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; in 312 he conquered Maxentius, and with Licinius, issued two new edicts of toleration (312 and 313); and to these Maximinus also, shortly before his suicide (313), was compelled to give his consent.

With Constantine, therefore, a new period begins, in which the church ascends the throne of the Caesars, and gives new vigor and lustre to the hoary empire of Rome.

§ 58. *Christian Martyrdom.*

- I. TERTULL.: Ad martyres. ORIG.: Exhortatio ad martyrium. CYPR.: Ep. 11 ad mart. PRUDENTIUS: Περὶ στεφάνων hymni XIV.
- II. SAGITTARIUS: De mart. cruciatibus. 1696. H. DODWELL: De paucitate martyrum, in his Dissertationes Cyprianicae. Lond. 1684; and the counterpart, RUINART (R. C.): Praefatio generalis in Acta Martyrum. (CHATEAUBRIAND: Les martyrs ou le triomphe de la rel. chret. 2 vols., has no critical nor historical value, but merely poetical.) Comp. in part MRS. JAMESON: Sacred and Legendary Art. Lond. 1848. 2 vols.

To these protracted and cruel persecutions the church opposed no revolutionary violence, no carnal resistance, but the moral heroism of suffering and dying for the truth. But this very heroism was her fairest ornament and stanchest weapon. In this very heroism she proved herself worthy of her divine founder, who submitted to the death of the cross for the salvation of the world, and even prayed that his murderers might be forgiven.

The patriotic virtues of Greek and Roman antiquity reproduced themselves here in exalted form, in self-denial for the sake of a heavenly country, and for a crown that fadeth not away. Even boys and girls became heroes, and rushed with a holy enthusiasm to death. In those hard times men had to make earnest of the words of the Lord: "Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple." "He, that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me." But then also the promise daily proved itself true: "Blessed are they, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "He, that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it;" and that not only to the martyrs themselves, who exchanged the troubled life of earth for the blessedness of heaven, but also to the church as a whole, which came forth purer and stronger from every persecution, and thus attested her indestructible phoenix-like nature.

Unquestionably there were also during this period, especially after considerable seasons of quiet, many superficial or hypocritical confessors, who, the moment the storm of persecution broke forth, flew like chaff from the wheat, and either sacrificed to the gods (*thurificati, sacrificati*), or procured false witness of their return to paganism (*libellatici, from libellum*), or gave up the sacred books (*traditores*). Tertullian relates with righteous indignation that whole congregations, with the clergy at the head, would at times resort to dishonorable bribes in order to avert the persecution of heathen magistrates.¹ But these were certainly cases of rare exception. Generally speaking the three sorts of apostates (*lapsi*) were at once excommunicated, and in many churches, through excessive rigor, were even refused restoration.

Those who cheerfully confessed Christ before the heathen magistrate at the peril of life, but were not executed, were honored as *confessors*.² Those who suffered abuse of all kind and death, for their faith, were called *martyrs* or blood-witnesses.³

Among these confessors and martyrs were not wanting those

¹ *Defuga in persec. c. 13: Massaliter totae ecclesiae tributum sibi irrogaverunt.*

² *(ὁμολογῆται, confessores, Matt x. 32, 1 Tim. vi. 12.*

³ *Μάρτυρες, Acts xxii. 20, Heb. xii. 1, Rev. xvii. 6.*

in whom the pure, quiet flame of enthusiasm rose into the wild rage of fanaticism, and whose zeal was corrupted with impatient haste, heaven-tempting presumption, and sordid ambition; to whom that word could be applied: "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." They delivered themselves up to the heathen officers, and in every way sought the martyr's crown, that they might merit heaven and be venerated on earth as saints. Thus Tertullian tells of a company of Christians in Ephesus, who begged martyrdom from the heathen governor, but after a few had been executed, the rest were sent away by him with the words: "Miserable creatures, if you really wish to die, you have precipices and halters enough." Though this error was far less discreditable than the opposite extreme of the cowardly fear of man, yet it was contrary to the instruction and the example of Christ and the apostles,¹ and to the spirit of true martyrdom, which consists in the perfect union of humility and power, and possesses divine strength in the very consciousness of human weakness.² And accordingly intelligent church teachers censured this stormy, morbid zeal. The church of Smyrna speaks thus: "We do not commend those who expose themselves; for the gospel teaches not so." Clement of Alexandria says: "The Lord himself has commanded us to flee to another city when we are persecuted; not as if the persecution were an evil; not as if we feared death; but that we may not lead or help any to evil doing." In Tertullian's view martyrdom perfects itself in divine patience; and with Cyprian it is a gift of divine grace, which one cannot hastily grasp, but must patiently wait for.

But after all due allowance for such adulteration and degeneracy, the martyrdom of the first three centuries still remains one of the grandest phenomena of history, and a mighty evidence of the indestructible, divine nature of Christianity. Sceptical writers have endeavored to diminish its moral effect by pointing to the awful scenes of the papal crusade against the

Albigenses and Waldenses, the Parisian massacre of the Huguenots, the Spanish Inquisition, and other persecutions of more recent date. Dodwell expressed the opinion, which has been recently confirmed by the high authority of the learned and impartial Niebuhr, that the Dioclesian persecution was a mere shadow as compared with the persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva in the service of Spanish bigotry and despotism. Gibbon goes even further, and boldly asserts that "the number of Protestants who were executed by the Spaniards in a single province and a single reign,¹ far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries, and of the Roman empire." But Christianity is no more responsible for all the crimes and cruelties perpetrated in its name by unworthy professors and under the sanction of an unholy alliance of politics and religion, than the Bible for all the nonsense men have put into it, or God for the abuse daily and hourly practised with his best gifts.

The want of particular statements by contemporary writers leaves it impossible, however, to ascertain, even approximately, the number of the martyrs. Dodwell and Gibbon have certainly underrated it, as far as Eusebius, the popular tradition since Constantine, and the legendary poesy of the middle age, have erred the other way. Origen, it is true, wrote in the middle of the third century, that the number of the earlier martyrs was small and easy to be counted.² But, in the first place, this language must be understood as merely relative, comparing the former persecutions with the more general ones in the age of Decius. And in the second place, it is even thus inaccurate, and is overborne by the equally valid testimony of Origen's teacher, Clement of Alexandria, and the still older Irenaeus, who says expressly,³ that the church, for her love to God, "sends in all

¹ According to Grotius over 100,000; according to P. Sarpi, the R. Cath. historian, 50,000.

² Ὀλίγοι καὶ σφόδρα ἐλαττονοῦνται τοιήσασιν. Adv. Cels. III. 8. The older testimony of Melito of Sardis, in the well known fragment from his Apology preserved by Eusebius IV. 16, refers merely to the small number of *imperial* persecutors before Marcus Aurelius.

³ Adv. haer. IV. c. 33. § 9: Ecclesia omni in loco ob eam, quam habet erga Deum affectionem, multitudinem martyrum in omni tempore praemittit ad Patrem.

places and at all times a multitude of martyrs to the Father." Even the heathen Tacitus speaks of an "ingens multitudo" of Christians, who were murdered in the city of Rome alone during the Neronian persecution. But finally, the sufferings of the church during this period are of course not to be measured merely by the number of actual executions, but by the far more numerous insults, slanders, vexations, and tortures, which the cruelty of heartless heathens and barbarians could devise, or any sort of instrument could inflict on the human body, which were in a thousand cases worse than death.

Dr. Arnold, who had no leaning whatever to superstitious and idolatrous saint-worship, in speaking of a visit to the church of San Stefano at Rome, justly remarks: "No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted will bear no critical examination; it is likely enough, too, that Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But this is a thankless labor. Divide the sum total of the reported martyrs by twenty—by fifty, if you will; after all you have a number of persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience's sake, and for Christ's; and by their sufferings manifestly with God's blessing ensuring the triumph of Christ's gospel. Neither do I think that we consider the excellence of this martyr spirit half enough. I do not think that pleasure is a sin; but though pleasure is not a sin, yet surely the contemplation of suffering for Christ's sake is a thing most needful for us in our days, from whom in our daily life suffering seems so far removed. And as God's grace enabled rich and delicate persons, women and even children, to endure all extremities of pain and reproach, in times past; so there is the same grace no less mighty now; and if we do not close ourselves against it, it might be in us no less glorified in a time of trial."

§ 59. *Rise of the Worship of Martyrs and Relics.*

1. In addition to the works quoted in § 58, comp. EUSEB. : H. E. IV. 15; De mart. Palaest. c. 7. CLEM. ALEX. : Strom. IV. p. 596. ORIG. : Exhort. ad mart.

c 30 and 50. In Num. hom. X. 2. TERTULL.: De cor. mil. c 3. De resur.
carn. c. 43. CYPR.: De lapsis, c. 17. Epist. 34 and 57. CONST. APOST. l. 8

II. C. SAGITTARIUS: De natalitiis mart. Jen. 1696. SCHWABE: De insigni
veneratione, quae obtinuit erga martyres in primit. eccl. Altd. 1748.

In thankful remembrance of the fidelity of this countless host of witnesses, in recognition of the unbroken communion of saints, and in prospect of the resurrection of the body, the church paid to the martyrs, and even to their mortal remains, a veneration, which was in itself well deserved and altogether natural, but which early exceeded the scriptural limit, and afterwards degenerated into the worship of saints and relics.

In the church of Smyrna, according to its letter of the year 167, we find this veneration still in its innocent, childlike form: "They (the heathens) know not, that we can neither ever forsake Christ, who has suffered for the salvation of the whole world of the redeemed, nor worship another. We adore him (*προσκυνοῦμεν*) as the Son of God; and the martyrs we love as they deserve (*ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως*), for their surpassing love to their King and Master, as we wish also to be their companions and fellow-disciples." The day of the death of a martyr was called his heavenly birthday,¹ and was celebrated annually at his grave (mostly in a cave or catacomb), by prayer, reading of a history of his suffering and victory, oblations, and celebration of the holy supper.

But the early church did not stop with this. Martyrdom was taken, after the end of the second century, not only as a higher grade of Christian virtue, but at the same time as a baptism of fire and blood,² an ample substitution for the baptism of water, as purifying from sin, and as securing an entrance into heaven. Origen even went so far as to ascribe to the sufferings of the martyrs an atoning virtue for others, an efficacy like that of the sufferings of Christ, on the authority of such passages as 2 Cor. xii. 15, 2 Tim. iv. 6, Acts vi. 9 sq. According to Tertullian the

¹ Ἡμεῖς γενέθλιος, γενέθλια, natales, natalitia martyrum.

² Lavaerum sanguinis, ἀάπτειν ἐν πυρὶ, comp. Matt. xx. 22. Luke xii. 50. Mark x. 39.

martyrs entered immediately into the blessedness of heaven, and were not required, like ordinary Christians, to pass through the intermediate state. Thus was applied the benediction on those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, Matt. v. 10–12. Hence, according to Origen and Cyprian, their prayers before the throne of God came to be thought peculiarly efficacious for the church militant on earth, and, according to an example related by Eusebius, their future intercessions were bespoken shortly *before* their death. Yet we find in this period no trace of any direct address to departed saints.

The veneration thus shown for the persons of the martyrs was transferred in smaller measure to their remains. The church of Smyrna counted the bones of Polycarp more precious than gold or diamonds. The remains of Ignatius were held in equal veneration by the Christians at Antioch. The friends of Cyprian gathered his blood in handkerchiefs, and built a chapel over his tomb.

A veneration frequently excessive was paid not only to the deceased martyrs, but also the surviving confessors. It was made the special duty of the deacons to visit and minister to them in prison. The heathen Lucian in his satire, "*De morte Peregrini*," describes the unwearied care of the Christians for their imprisoned brethren; the heaps of presents brought to them; and the testimonies of sympathy even by messengers from great distances; but all, of course, in Lucian's view, out of mere good-natured enthusiasm. Tertullian the Montanist censures the excessive attention of the Catholics to their confessors. The *libelli pacis*, as they were called—intercessions of the confessors for the fallen—commonly procured restoration to the fellowship of the church. Their voice had peculiar weight in the choice of bishops, and their sanction not rarely overbalanced the authority of the clergy. Cyprian is nowhere more eloquent than in the praise of their heroism. His letters to the imprisoned confessors in Carthage are full of glorification, in a style somewhat offensive to our evangelical ideas. Yet after all, he protests against the abuse of their privileges, from which he had himself to suffer, and

earnestly exhorts them to a holy walk; that the honor they have gained may not prove a snare to them, and through pride and carelessness be lost. He always represents the crown of the confessor and the martyr as a free gift of the grace of God, and sees the real essence of it rather in the inward disposition than in the outward act. Commodian conceived the whole idea of martyrdom in its true breadth, when he extended it to all those who, without shedding their blood, endured to the end in love, humility, and patience, and in all Christian virtue.

CHAPTER III.

LITERARY CONTEST OF CHRISTIANITY WITH JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM.

§ 60. *Opponents of Christianity. Tacitus, Celsus, Lucian.*

- I. TACITUS: *Annal.* XV. 44 (comp. his picture of the Jews, *Hist.* V. 1-5).
PLINIUS: *Ep.* X. 96, 97. CELSUS: *Ἀληθὴς λόγος* (preserved in fragments in
Origen's *Refutation*). LUCIAN: *Περὶ τῆς Περεργίνου τελευτῆς*, c. 11-16;
and *Ἀληθὴς ἱστορία*, I. 22. 30. II. 4. 11.
- II. MOSHEIM: Introduction to his Germ. transl. of Origen against Celsus.
Hamb. 1745. BINDEMANN: *Celsus und seine Schriften gegen die Christen*
(in Illgen's "*Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*" Leipz. 1842. N. 2). AD. PLANCK:
Lukian u. das Christenthum (in the "*Studien u. Kritiken*," 1851. N. 4;
translated in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," Andover, 1852). BAUR: *Das*
Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrh. Tüb. 1853. p. 357-415.

BESIDES the external conflict, which we have had before us in the preceding chapter, Christianity was called to pass through an equally important intellectual and literary struggle with the ancient world; and from this also she came forth victorious, and conscious that she was the perfect religion for man. We shall see in this chapter, that most of the objections of modern infidelity against Christianity were anticipated by its earliest literary opponents, and ably and successfully refuted by the ancient apologists.

The church found as little favor with the representatives of literature and art in this age, as with princes and statesmen. In this point of view also she was not of the world, and was compelled to force her way through the greatest difficulties; yet she proved at last the mother of an intellectual and moral culture far in advance of the Græco-Roman, capable of endless progress, and full of the vigor of perpetual youth.

The hostility of the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees to the gospel is familiar from the New Testament. Josephus mentions Jesus once in his *Archæology*, but in terms so favorable as to agree ill with his Jewish position, and thus to be, at least in their present form, open to critical suspicion. The attacks of the later Jews upon Christianity are essentially mere repetitions of those recorded in the gospels; denial of the Messiahship of Jesus, and horrible vituperation of his confessors. We learn their character best from the dialogue of Justin with the Jew Trypho. The *ἀντιλογία Παπίσκου καὶ Ἰάσωνος*, which has been once unjustly attributed to the Jewish-Christian Aristo, is lost.

The Græco-Roman writers of the first century, and some of the second, as Seneca, the elder Pliny, and even the mild and noble Plutarch, either from ignorance or contempt, never allude to Christianity at all. Tacitus and the younger Pliny, contemporaries and friends of the emperor Trajan, are the first to notice it; and they speak of it only incidentally and with stoical disdain and antipathy as an "*exitiabilis superstitio*," "*prava et immodica superstitio*," "*inflexibilis obstinatio*." These celebrated and in their way altogether estimable Roman authors thus, from manifest ignorance, saw in the Christians nothing but superstitious fanatics, and put them on a level with the hated Jews; Tacitus, in fact, reproaching them also with the "*odium generis humani*." This will afford some idea of the immense obstacles which the new religion encountered in public opinion, especially in the cultivated circles of the Roman empire. The Christian apologies of the second century also show, that the most malicious and gratuitous slanders against the Christians were circulated among the common people, even charges of incest and cannibalism,¹ which may have arisen in part from a misapprehension of the intimate brotherly love of the Christians, and their nightly celebration of the holy supper.

The direct assault upon Christianity, by works devoted to the purpose, began about the middle of the second century, and was

¹ *Οἰδιπόδειοι μίξεις*, incesti concubitus; and *Θυσιαία δείπνα*, Thyestere epulae.

very ably conducted by a Grecian philosopher, Celsus, otherwise unknown; according to Origen, an Epicurean and a friend of Lucian.

Celsus, with all his affected or real contempt for the new religion, considered it important enough to be opposed by an extended work entitled "A True Discourse," of which Origen has preserved considerable fragments in his Refutation. These represent their author as an eclectic philosopher of varied culture, skilled in dialectics, and somewhat read in the writings of the apostles and even in the Old Testament. He speaks now in the frivolous style of an Epicurean, now in the earnest and dignified tone of a Platonist. At one time he advocates the popular heathen religion, as, for instance, its doctrine of demons; at another time he rises above the polytheistic notions to a pantheistic or sceptical view. He employs all the aids which the culture of his age afforded, all the weapons of learning, common sense, wit, sarcasm, and dramatic animation of style, to disprove Christianity; and he anticipates most of the arguments and sophisms of the deists and naturalists of later times. Still his book is on the whole a very superficial, loose, and light-minded work, and gives striking proof of the inability of the natural reason to understand the Christian truth. It has no savor of humility, no sense of the corruption of human nature, and man's need of redemption; and it could therefore not in the slightest degree appreciate the glory of the Redeemer and of his work.

Celsus first introduces a Jew, who accuses the mother of Jesus of adultery with a soldier named Panthera;¹ adduces the denial of Peter, the treachery of Judas, and the death of Jesus as contradictions of his pretended divinity; and makes the resurrection an imposture. Then Celsus himself begins the attack, and begins it by combating the whole idea of the supernatural, which forms the common foundation of Judaism and Christianity. The controversy between Jews and Christians appears to him as foolish

¹ Πάνθηρ, *panthera*, here, and in the Talmud, where Jesus is likewise called יֵשׁוּעַ בֶּן פְּנִינָה, is used, like the Latin *lupa*, as a type of ravenous lust, hence as a symbolical name for *πορνεία*.

as the strife about the shadow of an ass. The Jews believed, as well as the Christians, in the prophecies of a Redeemer of the world, and thus differed from them only in that they still expected the Messiah's coming. But then, to what purpose should God come down to earth at all, or send another down? He knows beforehand what is going on among men. And such a descent involves a change, a transition from the good to the evil, from the lovely to the hateful, from the happy to the miserable; which is undesirable, and indeed impossible, for the divine nature. In another place he says, God troubles himself no more about men, than about monkeys and flies. Celsus thus denies the whole idea of revelation, now in pantheistic style, now in the levity of Epicurean deism; and thereby at the same time abandons the ground of the popular heathen religion. In his view Christianity has no rational foundation at all, but is supported by the imaginary terrors of future punishment. Particularly offensive to him are the promises of the gospel to the poor and miserable, and the doctrines of forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and of the resurrection of the body. This last he scoffingly calls a hope of worms, but not of rational souls. The appeal to the omnipotence of God, he thinks, does not help the matter, because God can do nothing improper and unnatural. He reproaches the Christians with ignorance, obstinacy, agitation, innovation, division, and sectarianism, which they inherited mostly from their fathers, the Jews. They are all uncultivated, mean, superstitious people, mechanics, slaves, women, and children. The great mass of them he regarded as unquestionably deceived. But where there are deceived, there must be also deceivers; and this leads us to the last result of this polemical sophistry. Celsus declared the first disciples of Jesus to be deceivers of the worst kind; a band of sorcerers, who fabricated and circulated the miraculous stories of the Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus; but betrayed themselves by contradictions. The originator of the imposture, however, is Jesus himself, who learned that magical art in Egypt, and afterwards made a great noise with it in his native country. But

here, this philosophical and critical sophistry virtually acknowledges its bankruptcy. The hypothesis of deception is the very last one to offer in explanation of a phenomenon so important as Christianity was even in that day. The greater and more permanent the deception, the more mysterious and unaccountable it must appear to reason.

About the same period the rhetorician, Lucian (born at Samosata in Syria in 130, died in Egypt or Greece about 200), the Voltaire of Grecian literature, attacked the Christian religion with the same light weapons of wit and ridicule, with which, in his numerous elegantly written works, he assailed the old popular faith and worship, the mystic fanaticism imported from the East, the vulgar life of the Stoics and Cynics of that day, and most of the existing manners and customs of the distracted period of the empire. An Epicurean, worldling, and infidel, as he was, could see in Christianity only one of the many vagaries and follies of mankind; in the miracles, only jugglery; in the belief of immortality, an empty dream; and in the contempt of death and the brotherly love of the Christians, to which he was constrained to testify, a silly enthusiasm.

Thus he represents the matter in a historical romance on the life and death of Peregrinus Proteus, a contemporary Cynic philosopher, whom he makes the basis of a satire upon Christianity, and especially upon Cynicism. Peregrinus is here presented as a perfectly contemptible man, who, after the meanest and grossest crimes, adultery, sodomy, and parricide, joins the credulous Christians in Palestine, cunningly imposes on them, soon rises to the highest repute among them, and, becoming one of the confessors in prison, is loaded with presents by them, in fact almost worshipped as a god, but is afterwards excommunicated for eating some forbidden food (probably meat of the idolatrous sacrifices); then casts himself into the arms of the Cynics, travels about everywhere, in the filthiest style of that sect; and at last about the year 165, in frantic thirst for fame, plunges into the flames of a funeral pile before the assembled populace of the town of Olympia, for the triumph of philosophy. Perhaps

this fiction of the self-burning was meant for a parody on the Christian martyrdom, possibly of Polycarp, who about that time suffered death by fire at Smyrna.

Lucian treated the Christians rather with a compassionate smile, than with hatred. He nowhere urges persecution. He never calls Christ an impostor, as Celsus does, but a "crucified *sophist*," a term which he uses as often in a good sense as in the bad. But then, in the end, both the Christian and the heathen religions amount, in his view, to imposture; only, in his Epicurean indifferentism, he considers it not worth the trouble to trace such phenomena to their ultimate ground, and attempt a philosophical explanation.

The merely negative position of this clever mocker of all religions injured heathenism more than Christianity, but could not be long maintained against either; the religious element is far too deeply seated in the essence of human nature. Epicureanism and scepticism made way, in their turns, for Platonism, and for faith or superstition. Heathenism made a vigorous effort to regenerate itself, in order to hold its ground against the steady advance of Christianity. But the old religion itself could not help feeling more and more the silent influence of the new.

§ 61. *Neo-Platonism. Porphyry and Hierocles.*

- I. PLOTINUS: *Opera Omnia* (ed. Oxf. 1835. ed Kirchhoff, Lips. 1856. ed. Didot, Par. 1856.) PORPHYRIUS: *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγοι* (fragments collected in Holstein: *Dissert. de vita et scriptis Porphyrii*, Rom. 1630). HIEROCLES: *Λόγοι φιλαλήξει πρὸς Χριστιανούς* (fragments in Euseb.: *Contra Hieroclem*, lib.).
- II. VOGT: *Neoplatonismus u. Christenthum*. Berl. 1836. RITTER: *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. 4th, 1834 (in English by Morrison, Oxf. 1838). NEANDER: *Ueber das neunte Buch in der zweiten Enneade des Plotinus*. 1843 (vid. Neander's *Wissenschaftl. Abhandlungen*, published by Jacobi, Berl. 1851, p. 22 sqq.). KIRCHNER: *Die Philosophie des Plotin*. Halle, 1832. ULLMANN: *Einfluss des Christenthums auf Porphyrius* in "*Stud. u. Krit.*" 1854. BAUR: *Apollonius von Tyana u. Christus*. Tüb. 1832. JOHN H. NEWMAN: *Apollonius Tyaneus*. Lond. 1849 (Ereyel. Metropol. Vol. X. p. 619-644).

More earnest and dignified, but for this very reason more lasting and dangerous, was the opposition which proceeded directly

and indirectly from Neo-Platonism. This system presents the last phase, the evening red, so to speak, of the Grecian philosophy; a fruitless effort of dying heathenism to revive itself against the irresistible progress of Christianity in its freshness and vigor. It was a pantheistic eclecticism and a philosophico-religious syncretism, which sought to reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy with Oriental religion and theosophy, polytheism with monotheism, superstition with culture, and to hold, as with convulsive grasp, the old popular faith in a refined and idealized form. Some scattered Christian ideas also were unconsciously let in; Christianity already filled the atmosphere of the age too much, to be wholly shut out. As might be expected, this compound of philosophy and religion was an extravagant, fantastic, heterogeneous affair, like its contemporary, Gnosticism, which differed from it by formally recognising Christianity in its syncretism. Most of the Neo-Platonists, Jamblichus in particular, were as much hierophants and theurgists as philosophers, devoted themselves to divination and magic, and boasted of divine inspirations and visions. Their literature is not an original, healthy natural product, but an abnormal after-growth.

In a time of inward distraction and dissolution the human mind hunts up old and obsolete systems and notions, or resorts to magical and theurgic arts. Superstition follows on the heels of unbelief, and atheism often stands closely connected with the fear of ghosts and the worship of demons. The enlightened emperor Augustus was troubled, if he put on his left shoe first in the morning, instead of the right; and the accomplished elder Pliny wore amulets as protection from thunder and lightning. In their day the long forgotten Pythagoreanism was conjured from the grave and idealized. Sorcerers like Simon Magus, Elymas, Alexander of Abonoteichos, and Apollonius of Tyana († A.D. 96), found great favor even with the higher classes, who laughed at the fables of the gods. Men turned wishfully to the past, especially to the mysterious East, the land of primitive wisdom and religion. The Syrian cultus was sought out; and all sorts of religions, all the sense and all the nonsense of antiquity, found a rendezvous

in Rome. Even a succession of Roman emperors, from Septimius Severus, at the close of the second century, to Alexander Severus, embraced this religious syncretism, which, instead of supporting the old Roman state religion, helped to undermine it.

After the beginning of the third century this tendency found philosophical expression and took a reformatory turn in Neo-Platonism. The magic power, which was thought able to reanimate all these various elements and reduce them to harmony, and to put deep meaning into the old mythology, was the philosophy of the divine Plato; which in truth possessed essentially a mystical character, and was used also by learned Jews, like Philo, and by Christians, like Origen, in their idealizing efforts and their arbitrary allegorical expositions of offensive passages of the Bible. In this view we may find among heathen writers a sort of forerunner of the Neo-Platonists in the pious and noble-minded Platonist, Plutarch of Bocotia († 129), who likewise saw a deeper sense in the myths of the popular polytheistic faith, and in general, in his comparative biographies and his admirable moral treatises, looks at the fairest and noblest side of the Græco-Roman antiquity, but often wanders off into the trackless regions of fancy.

The proper founder of Neo-Platonism was Ammonius Saccas, of Alexandria, who was born of Christian parents, but apostatized, and died in the year 243. His more distinguished pupil, Plotinus, also an Egyptian († 270), developed the Neo-Platonic ideas in systematic form, and gave them firm foothold and wide currency, particularly in Rome, where he taught philosophy. The system was propagated by his pupil Porphyry of Tyre († 304), who likewise taught in Rome, by Jamblichus of Chalcis in Coelo-Syria († 333), and by Proclus of Constantinople († 485). It supplanted the popular religion among the educated classes of later heathendom, and held its ground until the end of the fifth century, when it perished of its own internal falsehood and contradictions.

From its affinity for the ideal, the supernatural, and the mystical, this system, like the original Platonism, might become for many

philosophical minds a bridge to faith; and so it was even to Augustine, whom it delivered from the bondage of scepticism, and filled with a burning thirst for truth and wisdom. But it could also work against Christianity. Neo-Platonism was, in fact, a direct attempt of the more intelligent and earnest heathenism to rally all its nobler energies, especially the forces of Hellenic philosophy and Oriental mysticism, and to found a universal religion, a pagan counterpart to the Christian. Plotinus, in his opposition to Gnosticism, assailed also, though not expressly, the Christian element it contained. On their syncretistic principles the Neo-Platonists could indeed reverence Christ as a great sage and a hero of virtue, but not as the Son of God. They ranked the wise men of heathendom with him. The emperor Alexander Severus gave Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana a place in his lararium by the side of the bust of Jesus; and the rhetorician Philostratus, about the year 230, idealized the life of the pagan magician and soothsayer Apollonius, and made him out a religious reformer and worker of miracles. With the same secret polemical aim Porphyry and Jamblichus embellished the life of Pythagoras, and set him forth as the highest model of wisdom, even a divine being incarnate, a Christ of heathenism.

One of the Neo-Platonists, however, made also a direct attack upon Christianity, and was, in the eyes of the church fathers, its bitterest and most dangerous enemy. Towards the end of the third century Porphyry wrote an extended work against the Christians, in fifteen books, which called forth numerous refutations from the most eminent church teachers of the time, particularly from Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Apollinaris of Laodicea. In 435 all the copies were burned by order of the emperor, and we know the work now only from fragments in the fathers. According to these specimens, Porphyry attacked especially the sacred books of the Christians, with more knowledge than Celsus. He endeavored, with keen criticism, to point out the contradictions between the Old Testament and the New, and among the apostles themselves; and thus to refute the divinity of their writings. He represented the

prophecies of Daniel as vaticinia post eventum, and censured the allegorical interpretation of Origen, by which transcendental mysteries were foisted into the writings of Moses, contrary to their clear sense. He took advantage, above all, of the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch,¹ to reproach the former with a contentious spirit, the latter with error, and to infer from the whole, that the doctrine of such apostles must rest on lies and frauds. Even Jesus himself he charged with equivocation and inconsistency, on account of his conduct in John vii. 8 compared with verse 14.

Still Porphyry would not wholly reject Christianity. Like many rationalists of more recent times, he distinguished the original pure doctrine of Jesus from the second-handed, adulterated doctrine of the apostles. In another work² he says, we must not calumniate Christ, but only pity those who worship him as God. "That pious soul, exalted to heaven, is become, by a sort of fate, an occasion of delusion to those souls from whom fortune withholds the gifts of the gods and the knowledge of the eternal Zeus." Still more remarkable in this view is a letter to his wife Marcella, which A. Mai published at Milan in 1816, in the unfounded opinion that Marcella was a Christian. In the course of this letter Porphyry remarks, that what is born of the flesh is flesh; that by faith, love, and hope we raise ourselves to the Deity; that evil is the fault of man; that God is holy; that the most acceptable sacrifice to him is a pure heart; that the wise man is at once a temple of God and a priest in that temple. For these and other such evidently Christian ideas and phrases he no doubt had a sense of his own, which materially differed from their proper scriptural meaning. But such things show how Christianity in that day exerted, even upon its opponents, a power, to which heathenism was forced to yield an unwilling assent.

The last literary antagonist of Christianity in our period is Hierocles, who, while governor of Bithynia and afterwards of Alexandria under Dioclesian, persecuted that religion also with

¹ Gal. ii. 11 sqq.

² *Περὶ τῆς ἀπορίας φησὶν ἱεροκλῆς.*

the sword, and exposed Christian maidens to a worse fate than death. His "Truth-loving Words to the Christians" has been destroyed, like Porphyry's work, by the mistaken zeal of the later emperors, and is known to us only through the answer of Eusebius of Caesarea. It appears to have merely repeated the objections of Celsus and Porphyry, and to have drawn a comparison between Christ and Apollonius of Tyana, which resulted in favor of the latter. The Christians, says he, consider Jesus a God, on account of some insignificant miracles falsely colored up by his apostles; but the heathens far more justly declare the greater wonder-worker Apollonius, as well as an Aristeas and a Pythagoras, simply a favorite of the gods and a benefactor of men.

§ 62. *Summary of the Objections to Christianity.*

In general the leading arguments of the Judaism and heathenism of this period against the new religion are the following:

1. Against Christ: his illegitimate birth; his association with poor, unlettered fishermen, and rude publicans; his form of a servant, and his ignominious death. But the opposition to him gradually ceased. While Celsus called him a downright impostor, the Syncretists and Neo-Platonists were disposed to regard him as at least a distinguished sage.

2. Against Christianity: its novelty; its barbarian origin; its want of a national basis; the alleged absurdity of some of its facts and doctrines, particularly of regeneration and the resurrection; contradictions between the Old and New Testaments, among the gospels, and between Paul and Peter; the demand for a blind, irrational faith.

3. Against the Christians: atheism, or hatred of the gods; the worship of a crucified malefactor; poverty, and want of culture and standing; desire of innovation; division and sectarianism; want of patriotism; gloomy seriousness; superstition and fanaticism; and sometimes even unnatural crimes, like those related in the pagan mythology, of Oedipus and his mother Jocaste (concupitus Oedipodei), and of Thyestes and Atreus (epulæ

Thyesteae). Perhaps some Gnostic sects ran into scandalous excesses; but as against the Christians in general this last charge was so clearly unfounded, that it is not noticed even by Celsus and Lucian. The senseless accusation, that they worshipped an ass's head, may have arisen, as Tertullian already intimates,¹ from a story of Tacitus, respecting some Jews, who were once directed by a wild ass to fresh water, and thus relieved from the torture of thirst; and it is worth mentioning, only to show how passionate and blind was the opposition with which Christianity in this period of persecution had to contend.

§ 63. *The Christian Apologetic Literature.*

- I. The sources are all the writings of the Apologists of the second and third centuries; particularly JUSTIN M.: *Apologia* I. and II.; TERTULL.: *Apologeticus*; MINUCIUS FELIX: *Octavius*; ORIGEN: *Contra Celsum* (κατὰ Κέλσου) libr. VIII. Complete editions of the Apologists: *Apologg. Christ.* Opp. ed. Prud. Maranus, Par. 1742; *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, ed. Otto, Lips. 1847 sqq. (not yet finished).
- II. FABRICIUS: *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem rel. Christ. asseruerunt*. Hamb. 1725. TZSCHIRNER: *Geschichte der Apologetik*. Lpz. 1805 (unfinished). G. H. VAN SANDEN: *Gesch. der Apol.* 1831, translated from Dutch into German by Quack and Binder, Stuttg. 1846. 2 vols. SEMISCH: *Justin der Mär.* Bresl. 1840. II. 56-225. W. B. COLTON: *The Evidences of Christianity as exhibited in the writings of its Apologists down to Augustine* (Hulsean Prize Essay, 1852), republ. at Boston, 1854. (Comp. also WOODHAM's *Introduction to Tertull.'s Apologeticus*, and KAYE's illustrations from the works of Justin, Tertullian, and Clemens, in his monographs on these fathers.)

These assaults of argument and calumny called forth in the second century the Christian apologetic literature, the vindication of Christianity by the pen against the Jewish zealot, the Grecian philosopher, and the Roman statesman. The Christians were indeed from the first "ready always to give an answer to every man that asked them a reason of the hope that was in them." But when heathenism took the field against them not only with fire and sword, but with argument and slander besides,

¹ *Apol. c. 16*: Somniastis caput asinum esse deum nostrum. Hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem ejusmodi dei inseruit, &c.

they had to add to their simple practical testimony a theoretical self-defence. The Christian apology against non-Christian opponents, and the controversial efforts against Christian errorists, are the two oldest branches of theological science.

The apologetic literature began to appear under the reign of Hadrian, and continued to grow till the end of our period. Most of the church teachers took part in this labor of their day. The first apologies, by Quadratus, Aristides, and Aristo, addressed to the emperor Hadrian, and the later works of Melito of Sardis, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and Miltiades, who lived under Marcus Aurelius, are either entirely lost, or preserved only in fragments. But the valuable apologetical works of the Greek philosopher and martyr, Justin († 166), we possess. After him come, in the Greek church, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermias in the last half of the second century, and Origen, the ablest of all, in the first half of the third. The most important Latin apologists are Tertullian († about 220), Minucius Felix († between 220 and 230; according to some, between 161 and 180), and the later Arnobius; all of North Africa.

Here at once appears the characteristic difference between the Greek and the Latin minds. The Greek apologies are more learned and philosophical, the Latin more practical and juridical in their matter and style. The former labor to prove the truth of Christianity and its adaptedness to the intellectual wants of man; the latter plead for its legal right to exist, and exhibit mainly its moral excellency and salutary effect upon society. The Latin also are in general more rigidly opposed to heathenism, while the Greek recognise in the Grecian philosophy a certain affinity to the Christian religion.

The apologies were addressed in some cases to the emperors (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius) and the provincial governors; in others, to the intelligent public. Their first object was to soften the temper of the authorities and people towards Christianity and its professors by refuting the false charges against them. It may be doubted whether they ever reached the hands of the emperors; at all events the persecution con-

tinued.¹ Conversion commonly proceeds from the heart and will, not from the understanding and from knowledge. No doubt, however, these writings contributed to dissipate prejudice among honest and susceptible heathens, to spread more favorable views of the new religion, and to infuse a spirit of humanity into the spirit of the age, the systems of moral philosophy and the legislation of the Antonines.

Yet the chief service of this literature was, to strengthen believers and advance theological knowledge. It brought the church to a deeper and clearer sense of the peculiar nature of the Christian religion, and prepared her thenceforth to vindicate it before the tribunal of reason and philosophy; whilst Judaism and heathenism proved themselves powerless in the combat, and were driven to the weapons of falsehood and vituperation. The sophisms and mockeries of a Celsus and a Lucian have none but a historical interest; the apologies of Justin and the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian, rich with indestructible truth and glowing piety, are read with pleasure and edification to this day.

The apologists do not confine themselves to the defensive, but carry the war aggressively into the territory of Judaism and heathenism. They complete their work by positively demonstrating that Christianity is the divine religion, and the only true religion for all mankind.

§ 64. *The Argument against Judaism.*

In regard to the controversy with Judaism, we have two principal sources: the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Trypho,² based, it appears, on real interviews of Justin with Trypho; and Tertullian's work against the Jews.³

1. The defensive apology answered the Jewish objections thus:

(a) Against the charge, that Christianity is an apostasy from

¹ Orosius, however, relates in his Hist. vii. 14, that Justin M., by his Apology, made the emperor Antoninus Pius "benignum erga Christianos."

² *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.*

³ *Adversus Judæos.* Also Cyprian's *Testimonia adv. Judæos.*

the Mosaic law, it was held, that the Mosaic law was only a temporary institution for the Jewish nation, and the Old Testament itself points to its own dissolution and the establishment of a new covenant;¹ that Abraham was justified before he was circumcised, and women, who could not be circumcised, were yet saved.

(b) Against the assertion, that the servant-form of Jesus of Nazareth, and his death by the cross, contradicted the Old Testament idea of the Messiah, it was urged, that the appearance of the Messiah is to be regarded as twofold, first, in the form of a servant, afterwards in glory; and that the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the prophecies of David in Psalm xxii., and of Isaiah in ch. liii., themselves point to the sufferings of Christ as his way to glory.

(c) To the objection, that the divinity of Jesus contradicts the unity of God and is blasphemy, it was replied, that the Christians believe likewise in only one God; that the Old Testament itself makes a distinction in the divine nature; that the plural expression: "Let us make man,"² the appearance of the three men at Mamre,³ of whom one was confessedly God,⁴ yet distinct from the Creator,⁵ indicate this; and that all theophanies (which in Justin's view are all christophanies), and the Messianic Psalms,⁶ which ascribe divine dignity to the Messiah, show the same.

2. The aggressive apology or polemic theology urges as evidence against Judaism:

(a) First and mainly that the prophecies and types of the Old Testament are fulfilled in Jesus Christ and his church. Justin finds all the outlines of the gospel history predicted in the Old Testament; the Davidic descent of Jesus, for example, in Is. xi. 1; the birth from a virgin in vii. 14; the birth at Bethlehem in Micah v. 1; the flight into Egypt in Hosea xi. 1 (rather than Ps. xxii. 10?); the appearance of the Baptist in Is. xl. 1-17; Mal. iv. 5; the heavenly voice at the baptism of Jesus in Ps. ii. 7;

¹ Is. li. 4 sq. lv. 3 sqq. Jer. xxxi. 31 sqq.

² Gen. i. 26, comp. iii. 22.

³ Gen. xviii. 1 sqq.

⁴ xxi. 12.

⁵ xix. 24.

⁶ Ps. cx. 1 sqq. xlv. 7 sqq. lxxii. 2-19, and others.

the temptation in the wilderness under the type of Jacob's wrestling in Gen. xxxii. 24 sqq.; the miracles of our Lord in Is. xxxv. 5; his sufferings and the several circumstances of his crucifixion in Is. liii. and Ps. xxii. In this effort, however, Justin wanders also, according to the taste of his uncritical age, into arbitrary fancies and allegorical conceits; as when he makes the two goats, of which one carried away the sins into the wilderness, and the other was sacrificed, types of the first and second advents of Christ; and sees in the twelve bells on the robe of the high priest a type of the twelve apostles, whose sound goes forth into all the world.¹

(b) The destruction of Jerusalem, in which Judaism, according to the express prediction of Jesus, was condemned by God himself, and Christianity was gloriously vindicated.

§ 65. *The Defence against Heathenism.*

1. The various objections and accusations of the heathens, which we have collected in § 62, were founded for the most part on ignorance or hatred, and in many cases contradicted themselves; so that we need to notice here but a few.

(a) The attack upon the miraculous in the evangelical history the apologists could meet by pointing to the similar element in the heathen mythology; of course proposing this merely in the way of argumentum ad hominem, to deprive the opposition of the right to object. For the credibility of the miraculous accounts in the gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus, Origen appealed to the integrity and piety of the narrators, to the publicity of the death of Jesus, and to the effects of that event.

(b) The novelty and late appearance of Christianity were justified by the need of historical preparation in which the human race should be divinely trained for Christ; but more frequently it was urged also, that Christianity existed in the counsel of God from eternity, and had its unconscious votaries, especially among the pious Jews, long before the advent of Christ. By claiming

¹ Ps. xix. 4, comp. Rom. x. 18.

the Mosaic records, the apologists had greatly the advantage as regards antiquity over any form of paganism, and could carry their religion, in its preparatory state, even beyond the flood and up to the very gates of paradise. Justin and Tatian make great account of the fact that Moses is much older than the Greek philosophers, poets, and legislators. Athenagoras turns the tables, and shows that the very names of the heathen gods are modern, and their statues creations of yesterday. Clement of Alexandria calls the Greek philosophers thieves and robbers, because they stole certain portions of truth from the Hebrew prophets and adulterated them. Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and others raise the same charge of plagiarism.

(c) The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, so peculiarly offensive to the heathen and Gnostic understanding, was supported, as to its possibility, by reference to the omnipotence of God, and to the creation of the world and of man; and its propriety and reasonableness were argued from the divine image in man, from the high destiny of the body to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, and from its intimate connexion with the soul, as well as from the righteousness and goodness of God. The argument from analogy was also very generally used, but often without proper discrimination. Thus, Theophilus alludes to the decline and return of the seasons, the alternations of day and night, the renewal of the waning and waxing moon, the growth of seeds and fruits. Tertullian expresses his surprise, that anybody should deny the possibility and probability of the resurrection in view of the mystery of our birth and the daily occurrences of surrounding nature. "All things," he says, "are preserved by dissolution, renewed by perishing; and shall man . . . the lord of all this universe of creatures, which die and rise again, himself die only to perish for ever?"¹

(d) The charge of immoral conduct and secret vice the apologists might repel with just indignation, since the New Testament

¹ Apolog. c. xliii. Comp. his special tract *De resurrectione carnis*, c. 12, where he defends the doctrine more fully against the Gnostics and their radical misconception of the nature and import of the body.

contains the purest and noblest morality, and the general conduct of the Christians compared most favorably with that of the heathens. "Shame! shame!" they justly cried; "to roll upon the innocent what you are openly guilty of, and what belongs to you and your gods!" Origen says in the preface to the first book against Celsus: "When false witness was brought against our blessed Saviour, the spotless Jesus, he held his peace, and when he was accused, returned no answer, being fully persuaded that the tenor of his life and conversation among the Jews was the best apology that could possibly be made in his behalf. . . . And even now he preserves the same silence, and makes no other answer than the unblemished lives of his sincere followers; they are his most cheerful and successful advocates, and have so loud a voice, that they drown the clamors of the most zealous and bigoted adversaries."

2. To their defence the Christians, with the rising consciousness of victory, added direct arguments against heathenism, which were practically sustained by its dissolution in the following period.

(a) The popular religion of the heathens, particularly the doctrine of the gods, is unworthy, contradictory, absurd, immoral, and pernicious. The apologists and most of the early church teachers looked upon the heathen gods not as mere imaginations or personified powers of nature, and deifications of distinguished men, but as demons or fallen angels. They took this view from the Septuagint version of Ps. xevi. 5,¹ and from the immorality of those deities, which was charged to demons (even sexual intercourse with fair daughters of men, according to Gen. vi. 2). "What sad fates," says Minucius Felix, "what lies, ridiculous things, and weaknesses we read of the pretended gods! Even their form, how pitiable it is! Vulcan limps; Mercury has wings to his feet; Pan is hoofed; Saturn in fetters; and Janus has two faces, as if he walked backwards. . . . Sometimes Hercules is a hostler, Apollo a cowherd, and Neptune, Laomedon's mason, cheated of his wages. There we have the thunder of Jove and

¹ Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων δαιμόνια.

the arms of Aeneas forged on the same anvil (as if the heavens and the thunder and lightning did not exist before Jove was born in Crete); the adultery of Mars and Venus; the lewdness of Jupiter with Ganymede, all of which were invented for the gods to authorize men in their wickedness." "Which of the poets," asks Tertullian, "does not calumniate your gods? One sets Apollo to keep sheep; another hires out Neptune to build a wall; Pindar declares Æsculapius was deservedly scathed for his avarice in exercising the art of medicine to a bad purpose; whilst the writers of tragedy and comedy alike, take for their subjects the crimes or the miseries of the deities. Nor are the philosophers behind-hand in this respect. Out of pure contempt, they would swear by an oak, a goat, a dog. Diogenes turned Hercules into ridicule; and the Roman Cynic Varro introduces three hundred Joves without heads." From the stage abuses the sarcastic African father selects, partly from his own former observation, those of Diana being flogged, the reading of Jupiter's will after his decease, and the three half starved Herculeses! Justin brings up the infanticide of Saturn, the parricide, the anger, and the adultery of Jupiter, the drunkenness of Bacchus, the voluptuousness of Venus, and appeals to the judgment of the better heathens, who were ashamed of these scandalous histories of the gods; to Plato, for example, who for this reason banishes Homer from his ideal State. Those myths, which had some resemblance to the Old Testament prophecies or the gospel history, Justin regards as caricatures of the truth, framed by demons by abuse of Scripture. The story of Bacchus, for instance, rests, in his fanciful view, on Gen. xlix. 10 sq.; the myth of the birth of Perseus from a virgin, on Is. vii. 14; that of the wandering of Hercules, on Ps. xix. 6; the fiction of the miracles of Æsculapius on Is. xxxv. 1 sqq. Origen asks Celsus, why it is that he can discover profound mysteries in those strange and senseless accidents, which have befallen his gods and goddesses, showing them to be polluted with crimes and doing many shameful things; whilst Moses, who says nothing derogatory to the character of God, angel, or man, is treated as an impostor. He challenges any one to compare

Moses and his laws with the best Greek writers; and yet Moses was as far inferior to Christ, as he was superior to the greatest of heathen sages and legislators.

(b) The Greek philosophy, which rises above the popular belief, is not suited to the masses, cannot meet the religious wants, and confutes itself by its manifold contradictions. Socrates, the wisest of all the philosophers, himself acknowledged that he knew nothing. On divine and human things Justin finds the philosophers at variance among themselves; with Thales water is the ultimate principle of all things; with Anaximander, air; with Heraclitus, fire; with Pythagoras, number. Even Plato not seldom contradicts himself; now supposing three fundamental causes (God, matter, and ideas), now four (adding the world-soul); now he considers matter as unbegotten, now as begotten; at one time he ascribes substantiality to ideas, at another makes them mere forms of thought, &c. Who, then, he concludes, would intrust to the philosophers the salvation of his soul?

(c) But, on the other hand, the Greek apologists recognised also elements of truth in the Hellenic literature, especially in the Platonic and Stoic philosophy, and saw in them, as in the law and the prophecies of Judaism, a preparation of the way for Christianity. Justin attributes all the good in heathenism to the divine Logos, who, even before his incarnation, scattered the seeds of truth, and incited susceptible spirits to a holy walk. Thus there were Christians before Christianity; and among these he expressly reckons Socrates and Heraclitus. Besides, he supposed that Pythagoras, Plato, and other educated Greeks, in their journeys to the East, became acquainted with the Old Testament writings, and drew from them the doctrine of the unity of God, and other like truths, though they in various ways misunderstood them, and adulterated them with pagan errors. This view of a certain affinity between the Grecian philosophy and Christianity, as an argument in favor of the new religion, was afterwards further developed by the Alexandrian fathers Clement and Origen.

§ 66. *The Positive Apology.*

The Christian apology completed itself in the positive demonstration of the divinity of the new religion; which was at the same time the best refutation of both the old ones. As early as this period the strongest historical and philosophical arguments for Christianity were brought forward, or at least indicated, though in connexion with many untenable adjuncts.

1. The great argument, not only with Jews, but with heathens also, was the prophecies; since the knowledge of future events can come only from God. The first appeal of the apologists was, of course, to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament. But even a Clement of Alexandria, and, with more caution, an Origen, a Eusebius, and St. Augustine, employed also, without hesitation, apocryphal prophecies, especially the Sibylline oracles, a medley of ancient heathen, Jewish, and in part Christian fictions, about a golden age, the coming of Christ, the fortunes of Rome, and the end of the world.¹ And indeed, this was not all error and pious fraud. Through all heathenism there runs, in truth, a dim, unconscious presentiment and longing hope of Christianity. Think of the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, with its predictions of the "virgo" and "nova progenies" from heaven, and the "puer," with whom, after the blotting out of sin and the killing of the serpent, a golden age of peace was to begin.

2. The types. These, too, were found not in the Old Testament only, but in the whole range of nature. Justin saw everywhere, in the tree of life in Eden, in Jacob's ladder, in the rods of Moses and Aaron, nay, in every sailing ship, in the wave-cutting oar, in the plough, in the human countenance, in the human form with outstretched arms, in banners and trophies—the sacred form of the cross, and thus a prefiguration of the mystery of redemption through the crucifixion of the Lord.

3. The miracles of Jesus and the apostles, with those which

¹ Comp. DR. FRIEDLIEB: *Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollständig gesammelt, mit kritischem Commentare und metrischer Uebersetzung.* Leipz. 1852. We have at present twelve books of *χρησμοί σιβυλλιακοί* in Greek hexameters, and some fragments

continued to be wrought in the name of Jesus, according to the express testimony of the fathers, by their contemporaries. But as the heathens also appealed to miraculous deeds and appearances in favor of their religion, Justin, Arnobius, and particularly Origen, fixed certain criteria, such as the moral purity of the worker, and his intention to glorify God and benefit man, for distinguishing the true miracles from satanic juggleries. "There might have been some ground," says Origen, "for the comparison which Celsus makes between Jesus and certain wandering magicians, if there had appeared in the latter the slightest tendency to beget in persons a true fear of God, and so to regulate their actions in prospect of the day of judgment. But they attempt nothing of the sort. Yea, they themselves are guilty of the most grievous crimes; whereas the Saviour would have his hearers to be convinced by the native beauty of religion and the holy lives of its teachers, rather than by even the miracles they wrought."

The subject of *post-apostolic* miracles is surrounded by much greater difficulties in the absence of inspired testimony, and in most cases even of ordinary immediate witnesses. There is an antecedent probability that the power of working miracles was not suddenly and abruptly, but gradually withdrawn, as the necessity of such outward and extraordinary attestation of the divine origin of Christianity diminished and gave way to the natural operation of truth and moral suasion. Hence Augustine, in the fourth century, says: "Since the establishment of the church God does not wish to perpetuate miracles even to our day, lest the mind should put its trust in visible signs, or grow cold at the sight of common marvels." But it is impossible to fix the precise termination, either at the death of the apostles, or their immediate disciples, or the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy, or any subsequent era, and to sift carefully in each particular case the truth from legendary fiction. It is remarkable that the genuine writings of the ante-Nicene church are more free from miraculous and superstitious elements than the annals of the middle ages, and especially of monasticism. Most of the statements of the apologists are couched

in general terms, and refer to extraordinary cures from demoniacal possession (which probably includes, in the language of that age, cases of madness, deep melancholy, and epilepsy) and other diseases, by the invocation of the name of Jesus. Justin Martyr speaks of such cures as a frequent occurrence in Rome and all over the world, and Origen appeals to his own personal observation, but speaks in another place of the growing scarcity of miracles, so as to suggest the gradual cessation theory as held by Dr. Neander, Bishop Kaye, and others. Tertullian attributes many if not most of the conversions of his day to supernatural dreams and visions, as does also Origen, although with more caution. But in such psychological phenomena it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line of demarcation between natural and supernatural causes, and between providential interpositions and miracles proper. The strongest passage on this subject is found in Irenaeus, who, in contending against the heretics, mentions, besides prophecies and miraculous cures of demoniacs, even the raising of the dead among contemporary events taking place in the catholic church ;¹ but he specifies no particular case or name; and it should be remembered, also, that his youth still bordered almost on the Johannic age.

4. The moral effect of Christianity upon the heart and life of its professors. The Christian religion has not only taught the purest and sublimest code of morals ever known among men, but actually exhibited it in the life, sufferings, and death of its founder and true followers. All the apologists, from the author of the epistle to Diognetus down to Origen, Cyprian, and Augustine, bring out in strong colors the infinite superiority of Christian ethics over the heathen, and their testimony is fully corroborated by the practical fruits of the church, as we shall have occasion more fully to show in the fifth chapter. "They think us senseless," says Justin, "because we worship this Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, as God next to the Father. But

¹ Adv. haer. II. 31, § 2, and II. 32, § 4: "Ὡς δὲ καὶ νεκροὶ ἡγούμεθα καὶ παρέμεινον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ βραχίονι ἔτεται. These two passages can hardly be explained, with Heumann and Neander, as referring merely to cases of *apparent* death.

they would not say so, if they knew the mystery of the cross. By its fruits they may know it. We, who once lived in debauchery, now study chastity; we, who dealt in sorceries, have consecrated ourselves to the good, the increate God; we, who loved money and possessions above all things else, now devote our property freely to the general good, and give to every needy one; we, who fought and killed each other, now pray for our enemies; those who persecute us in hatred, we kindly try to appease, in the hope that they may share the same blessings which we enjoy."¹

5. The rapid spread of Christianity by purely moral means, and in spite of the greatest external obstacles, yea, the bitter persecution of Jews and Gentiles. Origen makes good use of this argument against Celsus, and thinks that so great a success as Christianity met among Greeks and barbarians, learned and unlearned persons, in so short a time, without any force or other worldly means, and in view of the united opposition of emperors, senate, governors, generals, priests, and people, can only be rationally accounted for on the ground of an extraordinary providence of God and the divine nature of Christ.

6. The reasonableness of Christianity, and its agreement with all the true and the beautiful in the Greek philosophy and poesy. All who had lived rationally before Christ, were really, though unconsciously, already Christians. Thus all that is Christian is rational, and all that is truly rational is Christian. Yet, on the other hand, of course, Christianity is supra-rational (not irrational).

7. The adaptation of Christianity to the deepest needs of human nature, which it alone can meet. Here belongs Tertullian's appeal to the "*testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*;" his profound thought, that the human soul is, in its inmost essence and instinct, predestined for Christianity, and can find rest and peace in that alone. The soul, says he, though confined in the prison of the body, though perverted by bad training, though weakened

¹ Apol. I. c. 13 and 14 (p. 35 sq. ed. Otto).

by lusts and passions, though given to the service of false gods, still no sooner awakes from its intoxication and its dreams, and recovers its health, than it calls upon God by the one name due to him: "Great God! good God!"—and then looks, not to the capitol, but to heaven; for it knows the abode of the living God, from whom it proceeds.¹ This deep longing of the human soul for the living God in Christ, Augustine, in whom Tertullian's spirit returned purified and enriched, afterwards expressed in the grand sentence: "Thou, O God, hast made us for thee, and our heart is restless, till it rests in thee."²

¹ Tert. Apolog. c. 17. Comp. the beautiful passage in *De testim. animae*, c. 2: Si enim anima aut divina aut a Deo data est, sine dubio datorem suum novit, et si novit, utique et timet . . . O testimonium veritatis, quae apud ipsa daemonia testem efficit Christianorum.

² Aug. Confess. I. 1: Fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te.

CHAPTER IV.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH DOCTRINE IN CONFLICT WITH
HERESY.§ 67. *Judaism and Heathenism as Heresy within the Church.*

HAVING thus noticed the moral and intellectual victory of the church over avowed and consistent Judaism and heathenism, we must now look at her deep and mighty struggle with those enemies in a hidden and more dangerous form; with Judaism and heathenism concealed in the garb of Christianity and threatening to Judaize and paganize the church. The patristic theology and literature can never be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of the heresies of the patristic age.

Judaism, with its religion and its sacred writings, and Graeco-Roman heathenism, with its secular culture, its science, and its art, were designed to pass into Christianity, the perfect religion, to be transformed and sanctified. But even in the apostolic age there were many Jews and Gentiles, who were baptized only with water, not with the Holy Ghost and fire of the gospel, and who smuggled their old religious notions and practices into the church. Hence the heretical tendencies, which are combated in the New Testament, especially in the Pauline and Catholic Epistles.¹

The same heresies meet us at the beginning of the second century, and thenceforth in more mature form and in greater extent in almost all parts of Christendom. They evince, on the one hand, the universal import of the Christian religion in history,

and its irresistible power over all the more profound and earnest minds of the age. Christianity threw all the religious ideas of antiquity into confusion and wonderful agitation. Thousands were so struck with the truth, beauty, and vigor of the new religion, that they could no longer rest either in Judaism or in heathenism, who yet were unable or unwilling to forsake inwardly their old religious and philosophical position. Hence strange medleys of Christian and unchristian elements in chaotic ferment. The old religions did not die without a last desperate effort to save themselves by appropriating Christian ideas. And this, on the other hand, exposed the specific truth of Christianity to the greatest danger, and obliged the church to defend herself against misrepresentation, and to secure herself against relapse to the Jewish or the heathen level.

As Christianity was met at its entrance into the world by two other religions, the one relatively true, and the other essentially false, heresy appeared likewise in the two leading forms of Ebionism and Gnosticism, the germs of which, as already observed, attracted the notice of the apostles. The remark of Hegesippus, that the church preserved a virginal purity of doctrine to the time of Hadrian, must be understood as made only in view of the open advance of Gnosticism in the second century, and therefore as only relatively true. The very same writer expressly observes, that heresy had been already secretly working from the days of Simon Magus. Ebionism is a Judaizing, pseudo-Petrine Christianity, or, as it may equally well be called, a Christianizing Judaism; Gnosticism is a paganizing or pseudo-Pauline Christianity, or a pseudo-Christian heathenism.

These two great types of heresy are properly opposite poles. Ebionism is a particularistic contraction of the Christian religion; Gnosticism, a vague expansion of it. The one is a gross realism and literalism; the other, a fantastic idealism and spiritualism. In the former the spirit is bound in outward forms; in the latter it revels in licentious freedom. Ebionism makes salvation depend on observance of the law; Gnosticism, on speculative knowledge. Under the influence of Judaistic legalism, Christianity must

stiffen and petrify; under the influence of Gnostic speculation it must dissolve into empty notions and fancies. Ebionism denies the divinity of Christ, and sees in the gospel only a new law; Gnosticism denies the true humanity of the Redeemer, and makes his person and his work a mere phantom, a docetistic illusion.

The two extremes, however, meet; both tendencies from opposite directions reach the same result—the denial of the incarnation, of the true and abiding union of the divine and the human in Christ and his kingdom; and thus they fall together under St. John's criterion of the antichristian spirit of error.¹ In both Christ ceases to be mediator and reconciler, and his religion makes no specific advance upon the Jewish and the heathen, which place God and man in abstract dualism, or allow them none but a transient and illusory union.

Hence, there were also some forms of error, in which Ebionistic and Gnostic elements were combined. We have a Gnostic or theosophic Ebionism (the pseudo-Clementine), and a Judaizing Gnosticism (in Cerinthus and others). These mixed forms also we find combated in the apostolic age. Indeed similar forms of religious syncretism we meet with even before the time and beyond the field of Christianity, in the Essenes, the Therapeutae, and the Platonizing Jewish philosopher, Philo.

§ 68. *Ebionism.*

- I. IRENAEUS: Adv. haer. I. 26. HIPPOLYTUS: Refut. omnium haer. l. IX. 13-17. EPIPHAN.: Haer. 29, 30, 53. Scattered notices in Justin M.; Tertull., Orig., Heges., Eus., and Jerome.
- II. GIESELER: Nazaräer u. Ebioniten (in the fourth vol. of Stäudlin's and Tzschirner's Archiv). SCHLIEMANN: Die Clementinen u. der Ebionitismus, Hamb. 1844, p. 362-552. RITSCHL: Ueber die Secte der Elkesaiten (in Niedner's "Zeitschr. für hist. Theol." 1853, No. 4. UHLHORN: Art. "Ebioniten" in Herzog's Theol. Real-Encykl. Vol. III. 621 sqq. (1855); and "Elkesaiten," ibid. p. 771 sqq.

The Jewish Christianity, represented in the apostolic church by Peter and James, combined with the Gentile Christianity of

¹ 1 Jno. iv. 1-3.

Paul, to form a Christian church, in which neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature in Christ. A portion of the Jewish Christians, however, adhered even after the destruction of Jerusalem, to the national customs of their fathers, and propagated themselves in some churches of Syria down to the end of the fourth century, under the name of NAZARENES; a name perhaps originally given in contempt by the Jews to all Christians as followers of Jesus of Nazareth.¹ They united the observance of the Mosaic ritual law with their belief in the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus, used the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, deeply mourned the unbelief of their brethren, and hoped for their future conversion in a body, and for a millennial reign of Christ on the earth. But they indulged no antipathy to the apostle Paul, and never denounced the Gentile Christians as heretics for not observing the law. They were, therefore, not heretics, but stunted separatist Christians of the school of James; they stopped at the obsolete position of a narrow and anxious Jewish Christianity, and shrank to an insignificant sect. Jerome says of them, that, wishing to be Jews and Christians alike, they were neither one nor the other.

From these Nazarenes we must carefully distinguish the heretical Jewish Christians, or the EBIONITES, who were more numerous. Their name comes not, as Tertullian first intimated, from a supposed founder of the sect, Ebion, of whom we know nothing, but from the Hebrew word, עֲבִיּוֹן, *poor*. It may have been originally, like Nazarene and Galilean, a contemptuous designation of all Christians, the majority of whom lived in needy circumstances, but it was afterwards confined to this sect; whether in reproach, to denote the poverty of their doctrine of Christ and of the law, as Origen more ingeniously than correctly explains it; or, more probably, in honor, since the Ebionites regarded themselves as the genuine followers of the poor Christ and his poor disciples, and applied to themselves alone the benediction on the poor in spirit. According to Epiphanius, Ebion

¹ Comp. Acts xxiv. 5.

spread his error first in the company of Christians which fled to Pella after the destruction of Jerusalem; according to Hege-sippus in Eusebius, one Thebutis, after the death of the bishop Symeon of Jerusalem, about 107, made schism among the Jewish Christians, and led many of them to apostatize, because he himself was not elected to the bishopric.

We find the sect of the Ebionites in Palestine and the surrounding regions, on the island of Cyprus, in Asia Minor, and even in Rome. Though it consisted mostly of Jews, Gentile Christians also sometimes attached themselves to it. It continued into the fourth century, but at the time of Theodoret was entirely extinct. It used a Hebrew gospel, now lost, which was probably a corruption of the gospel of Matthew.

The characteristic marks of Ebionism in all its forms are: degradation of Christianity to the level of Judaism; the principle of the universal and perpetual validity of the Mosaic law; and enmity to the apostle Paul. But, as there were different sects in Judaism itself, we have also to distinguish at least two branches of Ebionism, related to each other as Pharisaism and Essenism, or, to use a modern illustration, as the older deistic and the speculative pantheistic rationalism in Germany, or the two schools of unitarianism in England and America.

1. The common Ebionites, who were by far the more numerous, embodied the Pharisaic legal spirit, and were the proper successors of the Judaizers opposed in the Epistle to the Galatians. Their doctrine may be reduced to the following propositions: (a) Jesus is, indeed, the promised Messiah, the son of David, and the supreme lawgiver, yet a mere man, like Moses and David, sprung by natural generation from Joseph and Mary. The sense of his Messianic calling first arose in him at his baptism by John, when a higher spirit joined itself to him. Hence, Origen compared this sect to the blind man in the gospel, who called to the Lord, without seeing him: "Thou son of David, have mercy on me." (b) Circumcision and the observance of the whole ritual law of Moses are necessary to salvation for all men. (c) Paul is an apostate and heretic, and all his epistles are to be discarded.

The sect considered him a native heathen, who came over to Judaism in later life from impure motives. (d) Christ is soon to come again, to introduce the glorious millennial reign of the Messiah, with the earthly Jerusalem for its seat.

2. The second class of Ebionites, starting with Essenic notions, gave their Judaism a speculative or theosophic stamp, like the errorists of the Epistle to the Colossians. They form the stepping-stone to Gnosticism. Among these belong the Elkesaites.¹ They are supposed to have arisen at the beginning of the second century in the regions around the Dead Sea, where the Essenes lived. Their name is derived from their founder, Elxai, and is interpreted, "hidden power."² Probably this was not originally the name of a person, but the title of a book, pretending, like the book of Mormon, to be revealed by an angel, and held in the highest esteem by the sect. This secret writing, according to the fragments in Origen, and in the lately discovered Philosophoumena of Hippolytus, contains the groundwork of the remarkable pseudo-Clementine system, which we proceed in the next section to consider.

§ 69. *The Pseudo-Clementine Ebionism.*

I. Τὰ Κλημέντια, or more accurately, Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρων ἐπιδημιῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή, first published (without the twentieth homily) by *Cotelier* in his *Patres Apost.* Par. 1672; then again by *Schwegler*, Stuttg. 1847; and now first entire, from a new codex, by *A. Dressel* (with Latin transl. and notes), under the title: CLEMENTIS ROMANI quae feruntur HOMILIAE VIGINTI nunc primum integrae. Gott. 1853.—CLEMENTIS ROM. RECOGNITIONES (ἀναγνωρισμοί), extant only in the Latin translation of Rufinus; first published in Basel, 1526; then better by *Cotelier*, *Gallandi*, and by *Gersdorf* in his "Bibl. Patr. Lat." Lips. 1838. Vol. 1.—CLEMENTIS EPITOME DE GESTIS PETRI (Κλήμ. ἐπισχ. Ἑρώμης περὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐπιδημιῶν τε καὶ κηρυγμάτων Πέτρων ἐπιτομή), first at Par. 1555; then critically edited by *Cotelier*, l. c. (The *Epitome* is only a summary of the *Homilies*.)

II. NEANDER & BAUR in their works on Gnosticism (vid. the following §).
SCHLIEMANN: Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften, u. der

¹ Ἐλκεσαῖοι, also called in Epiphanius, Σαμψαῖοι, from שַׁמְשַׁן, sun.

² Δύναμις κεκαλλυμένη, כֹּחַ מְעֻשָּׁה.

Ebionitismus. Hamb. 1844. HILGENFELD: Die Clementinischen Recognitionen u. Homilien nach ihrem Ursprung u. Inhalt. Jena, 1848. Die Apost. Väter. Halle, 1853. p. 287-302. UHLHORN: Die Homilien u. Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus. Gött. 1854. Comp. the same author's article "Clementinen," in *Herzog's Encykl.* Vol. II., 744 sqq. RITSCHL: Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche. 1857 (2d ed. p. 206-270).

The system of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies exhibits Ebionism at once in its theosophic perfection, and in its internal dissolution. It represents rather an individual opinion, than a sect, but holds probably some connexion, not definitely ascertained, with the Elkesaites, who, as appears from the "Philosophoumena," branched out even to Rome. It is genuinely Ebionistic or Judaistic in its monotheistic basis, its concealed antagonism to Paul, and its assertion of the essential identity of Christianity and Judaism, while it expressly rejects the Gnostic fundamental doctrine of the demiurge. It cannot, therefore, properly be classed, as it is by Baur and others, among the Gnostic schools.

The twenty Clementine Homilies bear the celebrated name of the Roman bishop Clement, mentioned in Phil. iv. 3, as a helper of Paul, but evidently confounded in the pseudo-Clementine literature with Flavius Clement, kinsman of the emperor Domitian. They really come from an unknown, philosophically educated author, probably a Jewish-Christian, of the second half of the second century. They are a philosophico-religious romance, based on some historical traditions, which it is now impossible to separate from apocryphal accretions. They are prefaced by a letter of Peter to James, bishop of Jerusalem, in which he sends him his sermons, and begs him to keep them strictly secret; and by a letter of the pseudo-Clement to the same James, in which he relates how Peter, shortly before his death, appointed him (Clement) his successor in Rome, and enjoined upon him to send to James a work composed at the instance of Peter, entitled "Clementis Epitome prædicationum Petri in peregrinationibus."¹ By these epistles it was evidently

¹ Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδεικνύμενων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή.

designed to impart to the pretended extract from the itinerant sermons and the disputations of Peter, the highest apostolical authority, and at the same time to explain the long concealment of them

The substance of the Homilies themselves is briefly this. Clement, an educated Roman, of the imperial family, not satisfied with heathenism, and thirsting for truth, goes to Judaea, having heard, under the reign of Tiberius, that Jesus had appeared there. In Caesarea he meets the apostle Peter, and being instructed and converted by him, accompanies him on his missionary journeys in Palestine, to Tyre, Tripolis, Laodicea, and Antioch. He attends upon the sermons of Peter and his long repeated disputations with Simon Magus, and, at the request of the apostle, commits the substance of them to writing. Simon Peter is thus the proper hero of the romance, and appears throughout as the representative of pure, primitive Christianity, in opposition to Simon Magus, who is portrayed as a "man full of enmity" and a "deceiver," the author of all anti-Jewish heresies, especially of the Marcionite Gnosticism. Indeed, it is probably the apostle Paul, nowhere named in the work, whom, under the mask of the magician, the writer combats as the first corrupter of Christianity. The author was acquainted with the four canonical gospels, and used them, Matthew most, John least; and with them another work of the same sort, probably of the Ebionistic stamp, but now unknown.

The doctrine which pseudo-Clement puts into the mouth of Peter, and very skilfully interweaves with his narrative, is a confused mixture of Ebionistic and Gnostic, ethical and metaphysical ideas and fancies. He sees in Christianity only the restoration of the pure primordial religion, which God revealed in the creation, but which, on account of the obscuring power of sin and the seductive influence of demons, must be from time to time renewed. The representatives of this religion are the seven pillars of the world,¹ Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Christ. These are in reality only different incarna-

¹ Comp. Prov. ix. 1.

tions of the same Adam or primal man, the true prophet of God who is omniscient and infallible. What is recorded unfavorable to these holy men, the drunkenness of Noah, the polygamy of the patriarchs, the homicide of Moses, and especially the blasphemous history of the fall of Adam, as well as all unworthy anthropopathical passages concerning God, were foisted into the Old Testament by the devil and demons. Thus, where Philo and Origen resorted to allegorical interpretation, to remove what seems offensive in Scripture, pseudo-Clement adopts the still more arbitrary hypothesis of diabolical interpolations. Among the true prophets of God, again, he gives Adam, Moses, and Christ peculiar eminence, and places Christ above all, though without raising him essentially above a prophet and lawgiver. The history of religion, therefore, is not one of progress, but only of return to the primitive revelation. Christianity and Mosaism are identical, and both coincide with the religion of Adam. Whether a man believe in Moses or in Christ, it is all the same, provided he blaspheme neither. But to know both, and find in both the same doctrine, is to be rich in God, to recognise the new as old, and the old as become new. Christianity is an advance only in its extension of the gospel to the Gentiles, and its consequent universal character.

As the fundamental principle of this pure religion our author lays down the doctrine of one God, the creator of the world. This is thoroughly Ebionistic, and directly opposed to the dualism of the demiurgic doctrine of the Gnostics. But then he makes the whole stream of created life flow forth from God in a long succession of sexual and ethical antitheses and syzygies, and return into him as its absolute rest;¹ here plainly touching the pantheistic emanation theory of Gnosticism. God himself, one from the beginning, has divided everything into counterparts, into right and left, heaven and earth, day and night, light and darkness, life and death. The monad thus becomes the dyad. The better came first, the worse followed; but from man onward the order was

¹ Ἀνάπνοις.

reversed. Adam, created in the image of God, is the true prophet; his wife, Eve, represents false prophecy. They were followed, first, by wicked Cain, and then by righteous Abel. So Peter appeared after Simon Magus, as light after darkness, health after sickness. So, at the last, will antichrist precede the advent of Christ. And finally, the whole present order of things loses itself in the future; the pious pass into eternal life; the ungodly, since the soul becomes mortal by the corruption of the divine image, are annihilated after suffering a punishment, which is described as a purifying fire.¹ When the author speaks of *eternal* punishment, he merely accommodates himself to the popular notion. The fulfilling of the law, in the Ebionistic sense, and knowledge, on a half-Gnostic principle, are the two parts of the way of salvation. The former includes frequent fasts, ablutions, abstinence from animal food, and voluntary poverty; while early marriage is enjoined, to prevent licentiousness. In declaring baptism to be absolutely necessary to the forgiveness of sin, the author approaches the catholic system. He likewise adopts the catholic principle involved, that salvation is to be found only in the external church.

As regards ecclesiastical organization, he fully embraces the episcopal monarchical view. The bishop holds the place of Christ in the congregation, and has power to bind and loose. Under him stand the presbyters and deacons. But singularly, and again in true Ebionistic style, James, the brother of the Lord, bishop of Jerusalem, which is the centre of Christendom, is made the general vicar of Christ, the visible head of the whole church, the bishop of bishops. Hence even Peter must give him an account of his labors; and hence too, according to the introductory epistles, the sermons of Peter and Clement's abstract of them were sent to James for safe-keeping, with the statement, that Clement had been named by Peter as his successor at Rome.

It is easy to see that this appeal to a pseudo-Petrine primitive Christianity was made by the author of the Homilies with a view

to reconcile all the existing differences and divisions in Christendom. In this effort he, of course, did not succeed, but rather made way for the dissolution of the Ebionistic element still existing in the orthodox catholic church.

Besides these Homilies, of which the *Epitome* is only a poor abridgment, there are several other works, some printed, some still unpublished, which are likewise forged upon Clement of Rome, and based upon the same historical material, with unimportant deviations, but are in great measure free, as to doctrine, from Judaistic and Gnostic ingredients, and come considerably nearer the line of orthodoxy. The most important of these are the *Recognitions* of Clement, in ten books, mentioned by Origen, but now extant only in a Latin translation. They take their name from the narrative, in the last books, of the reunion of the scattered members of the Clementine family, who all at last find themselves together in Christianity, and are baptized by Peter.

On the question of priority between these two works critics are divided, some¹ making the *Recognitions* an orthodox, or at least more nearly orthodox, version of the Homilies; others² regarding the homilies as a heretical corruption of the *Recognitions*. The former view has more in its favor. Perhaps some more simple original pseudo-Petrine document lies at the bottom of all these pseudo-Clementine works. As to their birth-place, the Homilies probably originated in East Syria, the *Recognitions* in Rome.

In a literary point of view, these productions are remarkable, as the first Christian works of romance. They far surpass, in matter, and especially in moral earnestness and tender feeling, the heathen romances of a Chariton and an Achilles Tatios, of the fourth or fifth centuries. The style, though somewhat tedious, is fascinating in its way, and betrays a real artist in its combination of the didactic and historical, the philosophical and the poetic.

¹ Schliemann, Uhlhorn, &c.

² Particularly Hilgenfeld and Ritschl.

§ 70. *Gnosticism. Its Name, Origin, and Outward History.*

- I. The sources are almost all the ecclesiastical authors of the age; particularly IREN.: Adv. haereses. HIPPOL.: Refut. omnium haeresium. TERTULL.: De praescriptionibus haereticorum; Adv. Valentin.; Scorpiace; Adv. Marc. CLEM. ALEX.; ORIG.; EPIPH.: Adv. haer.; and THEODOR.: Fabul. haer. Also the work of the Neo-Platonist, PLOTINUS: Πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικούς (or Ennead. II. 9). The lately published Gnostic work (of the Valentinian school in the wider sense), PISTIS SOPHIA; Opus gnosticum e codice Coptico descriptum lat. vertit M. G. Schwartz, ed. J. H. Petermann, Berl. 1851. (Comp. on this the article of *Köstlin* in the "Tüb. Theol. Jahrbücher," 1854.)
- II. MASSUET (R. C.): Dissert. de Gnosticorum rebus, prefixed to his edition of Irenaeus; also in Stieren's edition of Iren. vol. ii. p. 54–180. MOSHEIM: Comment. de rebus ante Const. M. p. 333 sqq. NEANDER: Genet. Entwicklung der gnost. Systeme. Berl. 1818 (comp. his more mature exposition in his General Ch. Hist.) MATTER: Histoire critique du Gnosticisme. Par. 1828 (1843), 2 vols. BURTON: Bampton Lectures on the Heresies of the Apost. Age. Oxf. 1830. MÖHLER (R. C.): Der Ursprung des Gnosticismus. Tüb. 1831 (in his Vermischte Schriften. I. p. 403 sqq.) BAUR: Die christliche Gnosis in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung. Tüb. 1835 (comp. his Christenthum der 3ersten Jahrh., p. 159 sqq.) H. ROSSEL: Gesch. der Untersuch. über den Gnostic. (in the Theol. Nachlass, published by Neander. Berl. 1847, vol. 2nd, p. 179–250). THIERSCH: Kritik der N. Tlichen Schriften. Erl. 1845 (chap. 5, p. 231 sqq. and 268 sqq.) JACOBI: Art. "Gnosis" in Herzog's Encykl. vol. 5 (1856), p. 204–218. Also a number of monographs and articles on individual Gnostics, Basilides, Valentinus, Marcion, &c. (See the special literature in Gieseler, I. § 44–47; Hase, § 76–80; Niedner, p. 225 sqq., and Kurtz: Handbuch der K. G. I. § 67–78.)

The Judaistic form of error was substantially conquered in the apostolic age. More important and more widely spread in the second period was the paganizing heresy, known by the name of Gnosticism.

As to this name itself: Gnosis denotes in general all more profound philosophical or religious knowledge, in distinction from superficial opinion or blind belief. The New Testament itself, however, makes a plain distinction between true and false gnosis. The true consists in a deep insight of the essence and structure of the Christian truth, springs from faith, is accompanied by the cardinal virtues of love and humility, serves to

edify the church, and belongs among the spiritual gifts wrought by the Holy Ghost.¹ The false gnosis,² on the contrary, against which Paul warns Timothy, and which he censures in the Corinthians, is a morbid pride of wisdom, an arrogant, self-conceited, ambitious knowledge, which puffs up, instead of edifying,³ runs into idle subtleties and disputes, and verifies in its course the apostle's word: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."⁴

In this bad sense the word applies to the error of which we now speak, and which began to show itself at least as early as the days of Paul and John. It rests on an over-valuation of knowledge or gnosis, and a depreciation of faith or pistis. The Gnostics contrasted themselves by this name with the Pistics, or the mass of believing Christians. They regarded Christianity as consisting essentially in knowledge alone; fancied themselves the sole possessors of an esoteric, philosophical religion, which made them genuine spiritual men; and looked down with contempt upon the mere men of the soul and of the body. They, moreover, adulterated Christianity with sundry elements entirely foreign, and thus quite obscured the true essence of the gospel.

We must next consider the origin of this heresy.

As to its substance, Gnosticism is chiefly of heathen descent. It is a peculiar translation or transfusion of heathen philosophy and religion into Christianity. This was perceived by the church fathers in their day. Hippolytus particularly, in his lately discovered "*Philosophoumena*," endeavors to trace the Gnostic heresies to the various systems of Greek philosophy, making Simon Magus, for example, dependent on Heraclitus, Valentine on Pythagoras and Plato, Basilides on Aristotle, Marcion on Empedocles; and hence, in this work, he first exhibits the doctrines of the Greek philosophy from Thales down. Of all these systems, Platonism had the greatest influence, especially on the Alexandrian Gnostics; though not so

¹ Ἀγνος γνώσεως, λόγος σοφίας, 1 Cor. xii. 8. Comp. xiii. 2, 12. Jno. xvi. 3.

² Ψευδάντημος γνώσις, 1 Tim. vi. 20.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

⁴ Rom. i. 22.

much in its original Hellenic form, as in its later orientalized eclectic and mystic cast, of which Neo-Platonism was another fruit. The Platonic speculation yielded the germs of the Gnostic doctrine of aeons, the conceptions of matter, of the antithesis of an ideal and a real world, of an ante-mundane fall of souls from the ideal world, of the origin of sin from matter, and of the needed redemption of the soul from the fetters of the body. We find also in the Gnostics traces of the Pythagorean symbolical use of numbers, the Stoic physics and ethics, and some Aristotelian elements.

But this reference to Hellenic philosophy, with which Massueus was content, is not enough. Since Beausobre and Mosheim the east has been rightly joined with Greece, as the native home of this heresy. This may be inferred from the mystic, fantastic, enigmatic form of the Gnostic speculation, and from the fact, that most of its representatives sprang from Egypt and Syria. The conquests of Alexander, the spread of the Greek language and literature, and especially Christianity, produced a mighty agitation in the eastern mind, which reacted on the west. Gnosticism has accordingly been regarded as more or less parallel with the heretical forms of Judaism, with Essenism, Therapeutism, Philo's philosophico-religious system, and with the Cabbala the origin of which probably dates as far back as the first century. The affinity of Gnosticism also with the Zoroastrian dualism of a kingdom of light and a kingdom of darkness, is unmistakable, especially in the Syrian Gnostics. Its alliance with the pantheistic, docetistic, and ascetic elements of Buddhism, which had advanced at the time of Christ to western Asia, is equally plain. Parsic and Indian influence is most evident in Manichaeism, while the Hellenic element there amounts to very little.

Gnosticism, with its syncretistic tendency, is no isolated fact. It struck its roots deep in the mighty revolution of ideas induced by the fall of the old religions and the triumph of the new. Philo, in his time, endeavored to combine the Jewish religion, by allegorical exposition, or rather imposition, with Platonic

philosophy; and this system, according as it should be prosecuted under the Christian or the heathen influence, might prepare the way either for the speculative theology of the Alexandrian church fathers, or the heretical Gnosis. Still more nearly akin to Gnosticism is Neo-Platonism, which arose a little later than Philo's system, ignored Judaism, and in its stead employed the more of eastern and western heathenism. The Gnostic syncretism, however, differs materially from both the Philonic and the Neo-Platonic by taking up Christianity, of which Philo was wholly ignorant, and which the Neo-Platonists directly or indirectly opposed. This the Gnostics regarded as the highest stage of the development of religion, though they so corrupted it by the admixture of foreign matter, as to destroy its identity.

Gnosticism is, therefore, the grandest and most comprehensive form of speculative religious syncretism known to history. It consists of Oriental mysticism, Greek philosophy, Alexandrian, Philonic, and Cabbalistic Judaism, and Christian ideas of salvation, not merely mechanically compiled, but, as it were, chemically combined. At least in its fairly developed form in the Valentinian system, it is, in its way, a wonderful structure of speculative or rather intuitive thought, and at the same time an artistic work of the creative fancy, a Christian mythological epic. The old world here rallied all its energies, to make out of its diverse elements some new thing, and to oppose to the real, substantial universalism of the catholic church an ideal, shadowy universalism of speculation. But this fusion of all systems served in the end only to hasten the dissolution of eastern and western heathenism, while the Christian element came forth purified and strengthened from the crucible.

To their speculative zeal the Gnostics, at least in some cases, added a practical moral feeling, a sense of sin, stimulated by Christianity, but overstrained, so as to lead them, in bold contrast with the pagan deification of nature, to ascribe nature to the devil, to abhor the body as the seat of evil, and to practise, therefore, extreme austerities upon themselves. This practical feature is made prominent by Möhler, the Roman Catholic

divine. But Möhler goes quite too far, when he derives the whole phenomenon of Gnosticism (which he wrongly views as a forerunner of Protestantism) directly and immediately from Christianity. He represents it as a hyper-Christianity, an exaggerated contempt for the world, which, when seeking for itself a speculative basis, gathered from older philosophemes, theosophies, and mythologies, all it could use for its purpose.

The flourishing period of the Gnostic schools was the second century. In the sixth century only faint traces of them remained; yet some Gnostic and especially Manichaean ideas continue to appear in several heretical sects of the middle ages, such as the Priscillianists, the Paulicians, the Bogomiles, and the Catharists; and even the history of modern theological and philosophical speculation, at least in Germany, shows kindred tendencies.

The number of the Gnostics it is impossible to ascertain. We find them in almost all portions of the ancient church; chiefly where Christianity came into close contact with Judaism and heathenism, as in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor; then in Rome, the rendezvous of all forms of truth and falsehood; in Gaul, where they were opposed by Irenaeus; and in Africa, where they were attacked by Tertullian, and afterwards by Augustine, who was himself a Manichaean for several years. They found most favor with the educated, and threatened to lead astray the teachers of the church. But they could gain no foothold among the people; indeed, as esoterics, they stood aloof from the masses; and their philosophical societies were no doubt rarely as large as the catholic congregations.

§ 71. *The System of Gnosticism.*

Gnosticism is a heretical philosophy of religion, or, more exactly, a mythological theosophy, which reflects intellectually the peculiar fermenting state of that remarkable age of transition from the heathen to the Christian order of things. If it were merely an unintelligible congeries of puerile absurdities and impious blasphemies, as it is grotesquely portrayed by older

historians, it would not have fascinated so many vigorous intellects and produced such a long-continued agitation in the ancient church. It is an attempt to solve some of the deepest metaphysical and theological problems. It deals with the great antitheses of God and world, spirit and matter, idea and phenomenon; and endeavors to unlock the mystery of the origin of evil,¹ and the whole question of the rise, development, and end of the world.

In form and method it is, as already observed, more Oriental than Grecian. The Gnostics, in their daring attempt to unfold the mysteries of an upper world, disdained the trammels of reason and resorted to direct spiritual intuition. Hence they speculate not so much in logical and dialectic mode, as in an imaginative, semi-poetic way, and they clothe their ideas not in the simple, clear, and sober language of reflection, but in the many-colored, fantastic, mythological dress of type, symbol, and allegory. Thus monstrous nonsense and the most absurd conceits are chaotically mingled up with profound thoughts and poetic intuitions.

The highest source of knowledge, with these heretics, was a secret tradition, in contrast with the open, popular tradition of the catholic church. In this respect they differ from more recent sects, which generally discard tradition altogether and appeal to the Bible only, as understood by themselves. They appealed also to apocryphal documents, which arose in the second century in great numbers, under eminent names of apostolic or pre-Christian times. Epiphanius, in his 26th Heresy, counts the apocrypha of the Gnostics by thousands, and Irenaeus found among the Valentinians alone a countless multitude of such writings.² And finally, when it suited their purpose, the Gnostics employed single portions of the Bible, without being able to agree either as to the extent or the interpretation of the same. The Old Testament they generally rejected, either entirely, as in the case of the Marcionites and the Manichaeans, or at least in great part; and in the New Testament they preferred certain books or portions, such as

¹ Ἰδθεν τὸ κακόν.

² Adv. haer. I. c. 20. § 1: 'Αὐθγοῦν πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ τόθων γουρ. . . αὐτὶ ἱπλάσσονται, πειρασθέντων εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ ἐπισταμένων γράμματα.

the Gospel of John, with its profound spiritual intuitions, and either rejected the other books, or wrested them to suit their ideas. Marcion, for example, thus mutilated the Gospel of Luke, and received in addition to it only ten of Paul's Epistles, thus substituting an arbitrary canon of eleven books for the catholic Testament of twenty-seven. In interpretation they adopted, even with far less moderation than Philo, the most arbitrary and extravagant allegorical principles; despising the letter as sensuous, and the laws of language and exegesis as fetters of the mind. The number 30 in the New Testament, for instance, particularly in the life of Jesus, is made to denote the number of the Valentinian aeons; and the lost sheep in the parable is Achamoth. Even to heathen authors, to the poems of Homer, Aratus, Anacreon, they applied this method, and discovered in these works the deepest Gnostic mysteries.¹ They gathered from the whole field of ancient mythology, astronomy, physics, and magic, everything which could serve in any way to support their fancies.

The common characteristics of all the Gnostic systems are (1) Dualism; the assumption of an eternal antagonism between God and matter. (2) The demiurgic notion; the separation of the creator of the world or the demiurgos from the proper God. (3) Docetism; the resolution of the human element in the person of the Redeemer into mere deceptive appearance.²

We will endeavor now to present a clear and connected view of the theoretical and practical system of Gnosticism in general as it comes before us in its more fully developed forms.

1. The Gnostic theology revolves about the conceptions of God, matter, demiurge, and Christ.

It starts from absolute primal being. God is the unfathomable abyss,³ locked up within himself, without beginning, unnamable, and incomprehensible; on the one hand infinitely exalted above every existence, yet on the other hand the original aeon, the sum of all ideas and spiritual powers. Basilides would not ascribe even existence to him, and thus, like Hegel, starts from absolute nonentity.

¹ Hippol. Philos. IV. 46, V. 8, 13, 20.

² Διστηγίς, φάντασμα.

³ Βυθός.

But the abyss opens; God enters upon a process of development, and sends forth from his bosom the several aeons; that is, the attributes and unfolded powers of his nature, the ideas of the eternal spirit-world, such as mind, reason, wisdom, power, truth, life.¹ These emanate from the absolute in a certain order, according to Valentine in pairs with sexual polarity. The further they go from the great source, the poorer and weaker they become. Besides the notion of emanation,² the Gnostics employed also, to illustrate the self-revelation of the absolute, the figure of the evolution of numbers from an original unit, or of utterance in tones gradually diminishing to the faint echo.³ The cause of the procession of the aeons is, with some, as with Valentine, the self-limiting love of God; with others, metaphysical necessity. The whole body of aeons forms the ideal world, or light-world, or spiritual fulness, *pleroma*.⁴

Essentially different from this is the material visible world, in which the principle of evil reigns. This cannot proceed from God; else he were the author of evil. It must come from an opposite principle. This is matter,⁵ which stands in eternal opposition to God and the ideal world. The Syrian Gnostics, and still more the Manichaeans, agreed with Parsism in conceiving matter as an intrinsically evil substance, the raging kingdom of Satan, at irreconcilable warfare with the kingdom of light. The Alexandrian Gnostics followed more the Platonic idea of the *ῥλη*, and conceived this as *κένωμα*, emptiness, in contrast with the divine vital fulness or *πλήρωμα*, or as the *μὴ ὄν*, related to the divine being as shadow to light, and forming the dark limit, beyond which the mind cannot pass. This matter is in itself dead, but becomes animated by a union with the *pleroma*, which again is variously described. In the Manichaean system there are powers of darkness, which seize by force some parts of the kingdom of light. But usually the union is made to proceed from above. The last link in the chain of divine aeons, either

¹ *Noûs, λόγος, σοφία, δύναμις, ἀλήθεια, ζωή*, etc.

² *Ποιθοδότης*.

³ Basilides and Saturninus use the former illustration; Marcus uses the latter

⁴ *Πλήρωμα*, as opposed to *κένωμα*.

⁵ *ῥλη*.

too weak to keep its hold on the ideal world, or seized with a sinful passion for the embrace of the infinite abyss, falls as a spark of light into the dark chaos of matter, and imparts to it a germ of divine life, but in this bondage feels a painful longing after redemption, with which the whole world of aeons sympathizes. This weakest aeon is called by Valentine the lower wisdom, or Achamoth,¹ and marks the extreme point, where spirit must surrender itself to matter, where the infinite must enter into the finite, and thus form a basis for the real world. The myth of Achamoth is grounded in the thought, that the finite is incompatible with the absolute, yet in some sense demands it, to account for itself.

Here now comes in the third principle of the Gnostic speculation, namely, the world-maker, commonly called the Demiurge,² termed by Basilides Archon or world-ruler, by the Ophites, Jaldabaoth, or son of chaos. He is a creature of the fallen aeon, formed of physical material, and thus standing between God and matter. He makes out of matter the visible sensible world, and rules over it. He has his throne in the planetary heavens, and presides over time and over the sidereal spirits. Astrological influences were generally ascribed to him. He is the God of Judaism, the Jehovah, who imagines himself to be the supreme and only God. But in the further development of this idea the systems differ; the anti-Jewish Gnostics, Marcion and the Ophites, represent the Demiurge as an insolent being, resisting the purposes of God, while the Judaizing Gnostics, Basilides and Valentine, make him a restricted, unconscious instrument of God to prepare the way for redemption.

Redemption itself, that is, the liberation of the light-spirit from the chains of dark matter, is effected by Christ, the most perfect aeon, who is the mediator of return from the sensible phenomenal world to the supersensuous ideal world, just as the Demiurge is the mediator of apostasy from the pleroma to the kenoma. This

¹ Ἡ κατω σοφία, חַכְמָוֶת, or אַבְרַמָּוֶת, the Chaldaic form of the Hebrew חַכְמָה.

² Δημιουργός, a term used by Plato in a similar sense.

redeeming aeon, called by Valentine σωτήρ or Ἰησοῦς, descends through the sphere of heaven, and assumes an ethereal appearance of a body; according to another view, unites himself with the man Jesus, or with the Jewish Messiah, at the baptism, and forsakes him again at the passion. At all events the redeemer, however conceived in other respects, is allowed no actual contact with sinful matter. His human birth, his sufferings and death, are explained by Gnosticism after the manner of the Indian mythology, as a deceptive appearance, a transient vision, a spectral form, which he assumed only to reveal himself to the sensuous nature of man. Reduced to a clear philosophical definition, the Gnostic Christ is really nothing more than the ideal spirit of man himself, as in the "Leben Jesu" of Strauss. The Holy Ghost is commonly conceived as a subordinate aeon. The central fact in the work of Christ is the communication of the Gnosis to a small circle of the initiated, prompting and enabling them to strive with clear consciousness after the ideal world and the original unity. According to Valentine the heavenly Soter brings Achamoth after innumerable sufferings into the pleroma, and unites himself with her—the most glorious aeon with the lowest—in an eternal spirit marriage. With this all disturbance in the heaven of aeons is allayed, and a blessed harmony and inexpressible delight are restored, in which all spiritual (pneumatic) men, or genuine Gnostics, share. Matter is at last entirely consumed by a fire breaking out from its dark bosom.

2. The anthropology of the Gnostics corresponds with their theology. They see in man a microcosm, consisting of spirit, body, and soul, reflecting the three principles, God, matter, and demiurge, though in very different degrees. They make three classes of men: the spiritual,¹ in whom the divine element, a spark of light from the ideal world, predominates; the bodily, carnal, or material,² in whom matter, the gross sensuous principle, rules; and the psychical,³ in whom the demiurgic, quasi-divine principle, the mean between the two preceding, prevails.

¹ Πνευματικοί.

² Σωματικοί, φυσικοί, σαρκικοί, υλικοί.

³ Ψυχικοί.

These three classes they frequently identified with the adherents of the three religions respectively; the spiritual with the Christians, the carnal with the heathens, the psychical with the Jews. But they also made the same distinction among the professors of any one religion, particularly among the Christians; and they regarded themselves as the genuine spiritual men in the full sense of the word, while they looked upon the great mass of Christians¹ as only psychical, not able to rise from blind faith to true knowledge, too weak for the good, and too tender for the evil, longing for the divine, yet unable to attain it, and thus hovering between the *pleroma* of the ideal world and the *kenoma* of the sensual.

Ingenious as this thought is, it is just the basis of that unchristian distinction of esoteric and exoteric religion, and that pride of knowledge, in which Gnosticism runs directly counter to the Christian principle of humility and love.

3. We pass to the ethics of Gnosticism. All these heretics agree in disparaging the divinely created body and over-rating the spirit, and in the pride naturally connected with such an error. Beyond this we perceive among them two opposite tendencies: a gloomy asceticism, and a frivolous antinomianism; both grounded, however, in the dualistic principle, in a false ascription of evil to matter and of nature to the devil, and each extreme frequently running into the other, as the Nicolaitan maxim in regard to the abuse of the flesh² was made to serve asceticism first and then libertinism.

The more earnest Gnostics, like Marcion, Saturninus, and Tatian, and the Manichaeans also, felt uncomfortable in the sensual, corruptible, and perishing world, ruled by the demiurge and by Satan; they abhorred the body as formed from it, and forbade the use of certain kinds of food and all nuptial intercourse, as an adulteration of themselves with sinful matter; like the errorists noticed by Paul in his pastoral Epistles.³ They thus

¹ Οἱ πολλοί.

² Δεῖ καταχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί; the flesh must be abused to be conquered.

³ Comp. 1 Tim. iv. 3.

confounded sin with matter, and vainly imagined that, matter being dropped, sin, its accident, would fall with it. Instead of hating sin only, which God has not made, they hated the world, which he had made.

The other class of Gnostics, as the Nicolaitans, the Ophites, the Carpocratians, and the Antitactes, in a proud conceit of the exaltation of the spirit above matter, or even on the diabolical principle, that sensuality must be overcome by indulging it, bade defiance to all moral laws, and gave themselves up to the most shameless licentiousness. It is no great thing, said they, according to Clement of Alexandria, to restrain lust; but it is surely a great thing not to be conquered by lust, when one indulges it. According to Epiphanius there were even Gnostic sects in Egypt, which starting from a filthy, naturalistic pantheism, and identifying Christ with the generative powers of nature, practised debauchery as a mode of worship, and after having, as they thought, offered and collected all their strength, blasphemously exclaimed: I am Christ. From these pools of sensuality and Satanic pride arose the malaria of a whole literature, of which, however, fortunately, nothing more than a few names has come down to us.

4. In cultus, the Gnostic docetism and hyper-spiritualism led consistently to naked simplicity, as in Marcion; sometimes to the rejection of all sacraments and outward means of grace; if not even, as in the Prodicians, to blasphemous self-exaltation above all that is called God and worship.¹

But with this came also the opposite extreme of a symbolic and mystic pomp, especially in the sect of the Marcosians. These Marcosians held to a two-fold baptism, that applied to the human Jesus, the Messiah of the psychical, and that administered to the heavenly Christ, the Messiah of the spiritual; they decorated the baptistry like a banquet-hall; and they first introduced extreme unction. As early as the second century the Basilideans celebrated the feast of Epiphany. The Simonians

¹ Comp 2 Thess. ii. 4.

and Carpocratians used images of Christ and of their religious heroes in their worship. The Valentinians and Ophites sang in hymns the deep longing of Achamoth for redemption from the bonds of matter. Bardesanes is known as the first Syrian hymn-writer. Mary Gnostics, following their patriarch, Simon, gave themselves to magic, and introduced their arts into their worship; as the Marcosians did in the celebration of the Lord's supper.

5. Of the outward organization of the Gnostics (with the exception of the Manichaeans, of whom we shall speak hereafter) we can say little. Their aim was to resolve Christianity into a magnificent speculation; the practical business of organization was foreign to their exclusively intellectual bent. Tertullian charges them with an entire want of order and discipline.¹ They formed, not so much a sect or party, as a multitude of philosophical schools. Many were unwilling to separate at all from the catholic church, but assumed in it, as theosophists, the highest spiritual rank. Some were even clothed with ecclesiastical office, as we must no doubt infer from the fiftieth apostolic canon, where it is said, with evident reference to the gloomy perverse asceticism of the Gnostics: "If a bishop, a priest, or a deacon, or any ecclesiastic abstain from marriage, from flesh, or from wine, not for practice in self-denial, but from disgust,² forgetting that God made everything very good, that he made even the male and the female, in fact, even blaspheming the creation;³ he shall either retract his error, or be deposed and cast out of the church. A layman also shall be treated in like manner." Here we perceive the polemical attitude, which the catholic church was compelled to assume even towards the better Gnostics.

§ 72. *The Several Schools of Gnosticism.*

The arbitrary and unbalanced subjectivity of the Gnostic speculation naturally produced a multitude of schools. These Gnostic schools have been variously classified.

¹ De praescr. haeret., c. 41. ² Βέλγη. ³ Βλασφημίαν διαβάλλει τὴν δημιουργίαν.

Geographically they may be reduced to two great families, the Egyptian or Alexandrian, and the Syrian, which are also intrinsically different. In the former (Basilides, Valentine, the Ophites), Platonism and the emanation theory prevail, in the latter (Saturninus, Bardesanes, Tatian), Parsism and dualism. Then, distinct in many respects from both these is the school of Marcion, who sprang neither from Egypt nor from Syria, but from Asia Minor.

Examined further, with reference to its doctrinal character, Gnosticism appears in three forms, distinguished by the preponderance of the heathen, the Jewish, and the Christian elements respectively in its syncretism. The Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ophites, Carpocratians, Prodicians, Antitactes, and Manichaeans belong to a paganizing class; Cerinthus, Basilides, Valentine, and Justin (as also the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, though these are more properly Ebionistic), to a Judaizing; Saturninus, Tatian, Marcion, and the Eneratites, to a Christianizing division. But it must be remembered here, that this distinction is only relative; all the Gnostic systems being, in fact, predominantly heathen in their character, and essentially opposed alike to the pure Judaism of the Old Testament and to the Christianity of the New. The Judaism of the so-called Judaizing Gnostics is only of an apocryphal sort, whether of the Alexandrian or the Cabalistic tinge.

The ethical point of view, from which the division might as well be made, although it has not been done heretofore, would give likewise three main branches: the speculative or theosophic Gnostics (Basilides, Valentine), the practical and ascetic (Marcion, Saturninus, Tatian), and the antinomian and libertine (Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ophites, Carpocratians, Antitactes).

Having thus presented the general character of Gnosticism, and pointed out its main branches, we shall follow, if possible, the chronological order in describing the several schools, beginning with those which date from the age of the apostles.

1. SIMON and the SIMONIANS. That Simon Magus gave

himself out for a sort of emanation of deity,¹ made a great noise among the half pagan, half Jewish Samaritans by his sorceries, was baptized by Philip about the year 40, but terribly rebuked by Peter for hypocrisy and abuse of holy things to sordid ends, are historical facts settled by the Acts of the Apostles (ch. 8). This man thus affords the first instance in church history of a confused syncretism in union with magical arts; and so far as this goes, the church fathers are right in styling him the patriarch, or, in the words of Irenaeus, the "magister" and "progenitor" of all heretics, and of the Gnostics in particular. But his life and his teachings, especially his interview with the apostle Peter in Antioch and Rome, were fabulously garnished at an early day, chiefly by the romantic works of pseudo-Clement.² He is said to have declared himself an incarnation of the creative world-spirit, and his female companion Helena, the incarnation of the receptive world-soul. Here we have the Gnostic conception of the syzygy. A detailed analysis of his scattered and incoherent ideas is given by the author of the oft-mentioned "Philosophoumena."³ Besides Simon, two other contemporaneous Samaritans, Dositheus and Menander, bore the reputation of heresiarchs.

The sect of the Simonians, which continued into the third century, took its name, if not its rise, from Simon Magus, worshipped him as a redeeming genius, chose, like the Cainites, the most infamous characters of the Old Testament for its heroes, and was immoral in its principles. The name, however, is used in a very indefinite sense, for various sorts of Gnostics.

2. The NICOLAITANS, likewise antinomian, are derived from the Nicolaitans of the times of St. John,⁴ and more particularly

¹ Ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγίστη.

² The report of Justin Martyr, Apol. I. 26 and 56, that Simon went to Rome under Claudius, and received divine honors from his followers, who erected a statue to *Simo Sanctus* on the island of the Tiber, rests on a mistake. For this statue, which was in fact found in 1574 in the place described, turned out to be a statue of the Sabine-Roman divinity, *Semo Sancus* or *Sangus*, of whom the Greek Justin probably never heard.

³ From a work attributed to Simon, entitled: Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη.

⁴ Rev. ii. 6. 15

from Nicolas, one of the seven deacons of the church of Jerusalem,¹ who is supposed to have apostatized from the true faith, and to have laid down the dangerous principle that the flesh must be abused,² that is, at least as understood by his disciples, one must make the whole round of sensuality, to become its perfect master.

3. CERINTHUS³ appeared towards the close of the first century, in Asia Minor, and according to Irenaeus he was opposed by the aged apostle John. In his view of the validity of the law and of the millennial kingdom he was strongly Judaistic, so that he might be counted among the Ebionites, did he not, in true Gnostic style, separate the world-maker from God, and represent him as a subordinate, intermediate being. In his Christology he separates the earthly man Jesus, who was a son of Joseph and Mary, from the heavenly Christ,⁴ who descended upon the man Jesus in the form of a dove at the baptism in the Jordan, imparted to him the genuine knowledge of God and the power of miracles, but forsook him in the passion, to rejoin him only at the coming of the Messianic kingdom of glory. The early opponents of the Apocalypse, like Caius of Rome, foolishly considered Cerinthus the author of that book.

4. The origin of the OPHITES,⁵ or, in Hebrew, NAASSENES,⁶ i. e. serpent-brethren, or serpent-worshippers, is unknown, and is placed by Mosheim and others before the time of Christ. In any case, their system is of purely heathen stamp. The sect still existed as late as the sixth century; for in 530 Justinian passed laws against it. The accounts of their worship of the serpent rest, indeed, on uncertain data; but their name itself comes from their ascribing special import to the serpent as the symbol of the higher wisdom. They regarded the fall of Adam as the transition from the state of unconscious bondage to the state of conscious judgment and freedom,⁷ therefore the necessary entrance to the good, and a noble advance of the human spirit.

¹ Acts vi. 5.

² Δεῖ καταχῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί.

³ Κερίνθου.

⁴ (') ἄνθρωπος Χριστός.

⁵ Ὀφίται.

⁶ From נחש.

⁷ Comp. Gen. i. 26.

With this view is connected their violent opposition to the Old Testament. Jaldabaoth,¹ as they termed the God of the Jews and the creator of the world, they represented as a malicious, misanthropic being. In other respects their doctrine strongly resembles the Valentinian system, except that it is much more pantheistic, unchristian, and immoral, and far less developed.

The Ophites again branch out in several sects, such as the SETHITES, who considered the third son of Adam the first pneumatic man and the forerunner of Christ; the PERATES or PERATICANS, with whose views the "Philosophoumena" affords us some slight acquaintance; and the kindred CAINITES, who pushed the opposition to sound doctrine to the extreme, making the fratricide Cain their leader, and honoring all the notorious characters of the Old Testament as genuine spiritual men and martyrs to truth. Among the apostles they found the true gnosis in Judas Iscariot alone, who betrayed the psychical Messiah with good intent, to destroy the empire of the God of the Jews. Thus they perverted the Christian history of salvation into the very opposite. No wonder, that with such blasphemous travesty of the Bible history, and with such predilection for the serpent and his seed, the most unbridled antinomianism, which changed vice into virtue, went hand in hand.

5. BASILIDES,² teacher at Alexandria, about A.D. 125-140, produced the first well developed system of Gnosis. His system is very peculiar, especially according to the extended and original exhibition of it in the *Philosophoumena*, which deviates in many respects from the statements of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Epiphanius. It is based on the Egyptian astronomy and the Pythagorean numerical symbolism. It betrays also the influence of Aristotle; but Platonism, the emanation theory, and dualism do not appear. Basilides starts from the most abstract notion of the absolute, to which he denies even existence, thinking of it as infinitely above all that can be imagined and conceived. This ineffable and unnamable

¹ חַלְדָּא בְּהוּת, product of chaos.

² Βασιλείδης.

God,¹ not only super-existent, but non-existent,² first forms by his creative word (not by emanation) the world-seed or world-embryo,³ that is, chaos, from which the world develops itself according to arithmetical relations, in an unbroken order, like the many-colored peacock from the egg. Everything created tends upwards towards God, who, himself unmoved, moves all,⁴ and by the charm of surpassing beauty attracts all to himself. In the world-seed Basilides distinguishes three kinds of sonship,⁵ of the same essence with the non-existent God, but growing weaker in the more remote gradations; or three races of children of God, a pneumatic, a psychic, and a hylic. The first sonship liberates itself immediately from the world-seed, rises with the lightning speed of thought to God, and remains there as the blessed spirit-world, the *pleroma*. It embraces the seven highest genii,⁶ which, in union with the great Father, form the first ogdoad, the type of all the lower circles of creation. The second, *ψυχης*, with the help of the Holy Ghost, whom it produces, and who bears it up, as the wing bears the bird, strives to follow the first,⁷ but can only attain the impenetrable firmament,⁸ that is the limit of the *pleroma*, and could endure the higher region no more than the fish the mountain air. The third sonship, finally, remains fixed in the world-seed, and in need of purification and redemption. Next Basilides makes two archons or world-rulers (*demiurges*) issue from the world-seed. The first or great archon creates the ethereal world or the upper heaven, the ogdoad, as it is called; the second is the maker and ruler of the lower planetary heaven below the moon, the hebdomad. Basilides supposed in all three hundred and sixty-five heavens or circles of creation,⁹ corresponding to the days of the year, and designated them by the mystic name *Abrahas*,¹⁰ which, according to the numerical value of the Greek letters, is equal to 365.¹¹ This

¹ Ἀβρότος, ἀκατονόμαστος.

² Ὁ οὐκ ὄν θεός.

³ Πανσπερμία,—a Stoic idea

⁴ Ἀκίνητος κινήτης.

⁵ Υἱότης τριμελής.

⁶ Νῆς, λόγος, γνώσις, σοφία, δύναμις, ἐκαιοσύνη, and εἰρήνη.

⁷ Hence it is called *μυητική*.

⁸ Στερίωμα.

⁹ ἑκατόν, ἑξήκοντα, δυνάμεις, ἑξονταί.

¹⁰ Ἀβραχας, or Ἀβρασάξ.

¹¹ Three α=3; β=2; ρ=100; σ=200; ξ=60.

name also denotes only the great archon. It afterwards came to be used as a magical formula, with all sorts of strange figures, the Abraxas gems.

Each of the two archons, however, according to a higher ordinance, begets a son, who towers far above his father, communicates to him the knowledge received from the Holy Ghost, concerning the upper spirit-world and the plan of redemption, and leads him to repentance. With this begins the process of the redemption or return of the sighing children of God, that is, the pneumatics, to the supra-mundane God. This is effected by Christianity, and ends with the consummation, the apokatastasis, of all things. Like Valentine, Basilides also properly held a threefold Christ—the son of the first archon, the son of the second archon, and the son of Mary. But all these are at bottom the same principle, which reclaims the spiritual natures from the world-seed to the original unity. The passion of Christ was necessary to remove the corporeal and psychical elements, which he brought with him from the *σῶχυσις ἀρχική*. His body returned, after death, into *ἀμερπία*; his soul rose from the grave, and stopped in the hebdomad, or planetary heaven, where it belongs; but his spirit soared, perfectly purified, above all the spheres of creation, to the blessed first *πίστης* and the fellowship of the non-existent or hyper-existent God. In the same way with Jesus, the first-fruits, all other pneumatic persons must rise purified to the place where they by nature belong, and abide there. For all that continues in its place, is imperishable; but all that transgresses its natural limits, is perishable. In the process of redemption Basilides conceded to faith, *pistis*, more importance than most of the Gnostics.

In his moral teaching he inculcated a moderate asceticism, from which, however, his school soon departed. He used some of Paul's Epistles and the canonical Gospels; quoting, for example, Jno. i. 9, to identify his idea of the world-seed with John's doctrine of the Logos as the light of the world. This fact, brought out unexpectedly by the newly discovered work of Hippolytus, is a welcome testimony to the genuineness of John's

Gospel, against the scepticism of the school of Baur. His other authorities were chiefly the secret tradition of the apostle Matthias, and of a pretended interpreter of Peter, by the name of Glaucias. He himself wrote twenty-four exegetical books. His son ISIDORE, the chief of his disciples, composed a system of ethics. The Basilideans, especially in the West, seem to have been dualistic and docetistic in theory, and loose in practice. The whole life of Christ was to them a mere sham. They held it prudent to repudiate Christianity in times of persecution, and practised various sorts of magic, in which the abraxas gems did them service.

6. Contemporary with Basilides under Adrian, was SATURNINUS in Antioch, whose system is distinguished for its bold dualism and its ascetic severity.

7. CARPOCRATES also lived under Adrian, probably at Alexandria, and founded a Gnostic sect, called by his own name, which put Christ on a level with heathen philosophers, prided itself on its elevation above all the popular religions, and sank into unbridled immorality. His son EPIPHANES, who died in his youth, was worshipped by his adherents as a god. Here we have the worship of genius in league with the emancipation of the flesh, which has been revived in modern times by Strauss and "Young Germany."

8. VALENTINE; probably of Egyptian Jewish descent, and Alexandrian education, who taught in Rome about A.D. 140, and died in Cyprus in the year 160, is the author of the most profound and luxuriant of the Gnostic systems, and the one at the same time most accurately known to us; the one, therefore, which weighed most in our general view of Gnosticism in the previous section. In his theogonic and cosmogonic epic, as his system may be styled, he starts from the eternal primal being,¹ and makes thirty aeons emanate from him in fifteen pairs,² according to the law of sexual polarity, in three gradations, the first called the ogdoad, the second the decad, the third the dodecad. Some dis-

¹ Βεῖός προπάτωρ, προαρχή, αὐτοπάτωρ.

² Σύζευσις.

ciples of Valentine allowed even the universal Father a spouse or σύζυγος, to wit, silence, or solitude,¹ since from a male principle alone nothing could spring. He begets first the masculine, productive νοῦς or μονογενής, with the feminine, receptive ἀλήθεια; these two then produce λόγος and ζωή, and these, ἄνθρωπος and ἐκκλησία. The influence of the fourth Gospel is unmistakable here, though of course the terminology of John is used in a sense very different from that of its author. These three syzygies are the primal aeons, to whom μονογενής and ἀλήθεια afterwards add a new pair, the ἄνω Χριστός and the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, and therewith complete the number thirty. The weakest and most remote member of the series of aeons (in number the twenty-eighth) is the female, lower Sophia or Achamoth, who, feeling her loneliness and estrangement from the great Father, wishes to unite herself immediately with him; and by this sinful passion brings disturbance into the pleroma, then wanders about outside of it, falls into matter, and there suffers with fear, anxiety, and despair. But she repents, yearns after redemption, is finally, after many tribulations, liberated by Soter emanating from the collected world of aeons, and brought back as a bride, together with all pneumatic natures, into the ideal world. The demiurge, as the friend of the bridegroom,² with the psychical Christians on the border of the pleroma, remotely shares the joy of the festival, while matter sinks back into nothing.

In Valentine's Christology we must distinguish properly three redeeming beings: (1) the ἄνω Χριστός or heavenly Christ, who, after the fall of Sophia, emanates from the aeon μονογενής, and stands in conjunction with the female principle πνεῦμα ἅγιον. He makes the first announcement to the aeons of the plan of redemption, whereupon they strike up anthems of praise and thanksgiving in responsive choirs. (2) The σωτήρ or Ἰησοῦς produced by all the aeons together, the star of the pleroma, who forms with the redeemed Achamoth the last and highest syzygy. (3) The κάτω Χριστός, the psychical or Jewish Messiah, who is sent by the demiurge, passes

¹ Σιγή.² John iii. 29.

through the body of Mary as water through a pipe, and is at last crucified by the unsusceptible Jews, but, as he has merely an apparent body, does not really suffer. With him Soter, the proper redeemer, united himself in the baptism in Jordan, to announce his divine gnosis on earth for a year, and lead the pneumatic persons to perfection.

Of all the forms of Gnosticism the Valentinian was the most popular and influential, more particularly in Rome. The school divided, however, into two branches, an Oriental¹ and an Italian. The first in which Hippolytus reckons one AXIONICOS, not otherwise known, and ADRESIANES (Bardesan²), held the body of Jesus to be pneumatic, because the Holy Ghost, i.e. Sophia, and the demiurgic power of the Highest, came upon Mary. The Italian school—embracing HERACLEON of Alexandria, author of a commentary on the Gospel of John known to us by fragments in Origen, and PTOLEMY, author of the *Epistola ad Floram* preserved in Epiphanius—taught, that the body of Jesus was psychical, and that for this reason the Spirit descended upon him in the baptism. The two persons last named came nearer the orthodox view. Another disciple of Valentine, MARCOS of Palestine, likewise of the second half of the second century, blended a Pythagorean and Cabbalistic numerical symbolism with the ideas of his master, introduced a ritual abounding in ceremonies, and sought to attract beautiful and wealthy women by magical arts. His followers were called MARCOSIANS.

Finally, in the Valentinian school is to be counted also BARDESANES, a distinguished Syrian scholar and poet, who about A.D. 170 lived at the court of the prince of Edessa; but he accommodated himself particularly in his preaching to the psychical position of the catholic church. So did his son HARMONIUS, a gifted composer of hymns.

9. JUSTIN probably lived about the same time, although we know nothing about his origin and personal history. He propagated his gnosis secretly, and bound his disciples to silence by

¹ Διδασκαλία ἀνατολική.

solemn oaths. His system, which, together with his name, has only recently become known to us,¹ has a Judaizing cast, and is mostly based upon a mystical interpretation of Genesis. He made use also of the Greek mythology, especially the tradition of the twelve conflicts of Hercules. He assumes three original principles, two male and one female. The last he identifies with Eden, which marries Elohim, and becomes thus the mother of the angels of the spirit-world. The tree of life in paradise represents the good, the tree of knowledge the evil angels; the four rivers are symbols of the four divisions of angels. The Naas or the serpent-spirit he made, unlike the Ophites, the bearer of the evil principle; he committed adultery with Eve, and a worse crime with Adam; he adulterated the laws of Moses and the oracles of the prophets; he nailed Jesus to the cross. But by this crucifixion Jesus was emancipated from his material body, rose to the good God to whom he committed his spirit in death, and thus became the deliverer.

10. Contemporary with Valentine was MARCION, an earnest, energetic man, but restless, rough, and eccentric. In him the Christian and practical element, but with it that of opposition to Judaism, was much more prominent than in the other Gnostics. He represents an extreme pseudo-Pauline tendency, and a magical supranaturalism, which, in fanatical zeal for a pure primitive Christianity, nullifies all history, and turns the gospel into an abrupt, unnatural, phantom-like appearance. He was the son of the bishop of Sinope in Pontus, but was excommunicated for his proud contempt of church authority and tradition,² and betook himself about the middle of the second century to Rome. There he joined the Syrian Gnostic CERDO, who gave him a speculative foundation for his practical dualism. He disseminated his doctrine by travels, but at last was about to apply for restoration to the communion of the Church, when his death intervened. The abhorrence of the Catholics for him is expressed in the report of

¹ Through the *Philosophoumena*, v. 22 and x. 15.

² Tertullian and others say, also for seducing a consecrated virgin; but this does not go well with his asceticism.

Irenaeus, that Polycarp of Smyrna, meeting with Marcion in Rome, and being asked by him: "Dost thou know me?" answered: "I know the first-born of Satan."¹

Marcion supposed three primal forces:² the good or gracious God,³ whom Christ first made known; the evil matter, ruled by the devil,⁴ to which heathenism belongs; and the righteous world-maker,⁵ who is the finite, angry God of the Jews. He did not go, however, into any further speculative analysis of these principles; he rejected the pagan emanation theory, the secret tradition, and the allegorical interpretation of the Gnostics; and he gave faith a higher place than it generally had with them. He was chiefly zealous for the consistent practical enforcement of his dualism. He set the idea of goodness and the idea of righteousness, the gospel and the law, Christianity and Judaism, in direct antagonism; and drew out this contrast at large in a special work, entitled "Antitheses." He rejected all the books of the Old Testament, and wrested Christ's word in Matt. v. 17 into the very opposite declaration: "I am come not to fulfil the law and the prophets, but to destroy them." In his view, Christianity thus has no connexion whatever with the past, whether of the Jewish or the heathen world, but has fallen abruptly and magically, as it were, from heaven. Christ, too, was not born at all, but suddenly descended into the city of Capernaum in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, and appeared as the revealer of the good God, who sent him. He has no connexion with the Messiah, announced by the demiurge in the Old Testament; though he called himself the Messiah by way of accommodation. His body was a mere appearance, and his death an illusion, though they had a real meaning. He cast the demiurge into hades, secured redemption, and called the apostle Paul to preach it. The other apostles are Judaizing corrupters of pure Christianity, and their writings are to be rejected, together with the catholic tradition.

¹ Iren. adv. haer. iii. c. 3, § 4: 'Ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

² Ἀρχαί.

³ Θεὸς ἀγαθός.

⁴ Ὑλη.

⁵ Δημιουργὸς δίκαιος.

Marcion formed a canon of his own, which consisted only of eleven books, an abridged and mutilated gospel of Luke, and ten of Paul's epistles. The pastoral epistles, in which the fore-runners of Gnosticism are condemned, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, he likewise rejected.

Notwithstanding his violent antinomianism, Marcion taught and practised the strictest ascetic self-discipline, which revolted not only from all pagan festivities, but even from marriage. He could find the true God in nature no more than in history. He admitted married persons to baptism only on a vow of abstinence from all sexual intercourse.

In worship he repudiated the catholic ritual, and insisted on the greatest simplicity.

His sect spread in Italy, Egypt, North Africa, and Syria, and continued until the sixth century; but it split into many branches. The most noteworthy Marcionites are MARCUS, LUCANUS, and APELLES, who supplied the defects of their master's system by other Gnostic speculations, and in some instances softened down its antipathy to heathenism and Judaism.

11. TATIAN, a rhetorician of Syria, who was converted to Christianity by Justin Martyr in Rome, but afterwards strayed into Gnosticism, and died about A.D. 170, resembles Marcion in his anti-Jewish turn and his dismal austerity. Falsely interpreting 1 Cor. vii. 5, he declared marriage to be a kind of licentiousness and a service of the devil. His followers, who kept the system alive till the fourth century, were called, from their ascetic life, ENCRATITES.¹ This name, however, was applied indiscriminately to all the ascetic sects of the Gnostics.

12. The name ANTITACTES, on the contrary,² denotes the licentious antinomian Gnostics, rather than the followers of any single master, to whom the term can be traced.

13. Among these belong the PRODICIANS, so named from

¹ Ἐγκραῖται, the abstemious; or, from their prohibition of wine, and their use of water in the Lord's Supper, Ὑδροπαυσταῖται, Aquarii.

² From ἀντιτάσσειν, to defy, rebel against, the law.

their founder, PRODICUS. They considered themselves the royal family,¹ and, in crazy self-conceit, thought themselves above the law, the sabbath, and every form of worship, even above prayer itself, which was becoming only to the ignorant mass.

14. HERMOGENES, a painter of Carthage at the end of the second century, who was attacked by Tertullian, is but remotely connected with Gnosticism. He proceeded on Platonic and dualistic principles, and propounded a peculiar theory of creation, deriving the soul and the body of man from the formless, eternal matter, and explaining the ugly in the natural world, as well as evil in the spiritual, by the resistance of matter to the formative influence of God.

§ 73. *Manichaeism.*

I. ARCHELAUS (bishop of Cascar about 278): *Acta disputationis cum Manete* (first composed in Syriac, but extant only in a Latin translation, and in many respects unreliable), in *Routh's Reliquiae sacrae*, Vol. V. 3-206. The Oriental accounts, of later date indeed (the 9th and 10th centuries), but drawn from ancient sources, are collected in HERBELOT: *Bibl. orient.* Par. 1679. s. v. Mani. TITUS BOSTRENSIS (about 360): *Κατὰ Μανιχαίων*. EPIPHAN.: *Haer.* 66 (drawn from Archelaus). The anti-Manichaean works of AUGUSTINE (in the 8th vol. of the Bened. ed.).

II. I. DE BEAUSOBRE: *Histoire crit. de Manichée et du Manichéisme*. Amst. 1734 & '39. 2 vols. F. CHR. BAUR: *Das Manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen untersucht*. Tüb. 1831.

1. Its external history. The origin of Manichaeism is matter of obscure and confused tradition. The Oriental sources trace it to Mani (Manes, Manichaëus), a celebrated Persian magian, astronomer, and painter, of the second half of the third century, who came over to Christianity, or rather introduced some Christian elements into the Zoroastrian religion, and thus stirred up an intellectual revolution among his former brethren in faith. He is said to have been for some time a Presbyter, but to have been excommunicated by the Christians. He proposed to purge Christianity of its alleged Jewish corrup

¹ *Ἡβῆ, αἰεὶς*.

tions, to demonstrate its unity with Parsism, and thereby to present the perfect universal religion. He declared himself the paraclete promised by Christ, and began his "*Epistola fundamenti*," in which he propounded his leading doctrines, with the words: "Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ, by the providence of God the Father. These are the words of salvation from the eternal and living source." At first he found favor at the court of the Persian king Shapur (Sapores), but was afterwards persecuted by the Magians, and fled to East India, where he became acquainted with Buddhism, and received it into his syncretistic religion. Indeed, the name of Buddha is interwoven with the legendary history of the Manichæan system. In the year 272 he returned to Persia, and won many followers by his symbolic pictorial illustrations of the doctrines, which he pretended had been revealed to him by God. But in a disputation with the magi, he was convicted of corrupting the old religion, and thereupon was flayed alive by order of king Behram (Veranes) about 277; his skin was stuffed and hung up, for a terror, at the gates of the city Djondishapur.

Soon after Mani's cruel death his sect spread in Asia, North Africa, Sicily, and Italy. The mysteriousness of its doctrine and its show of ascetic holiness sometimes attracted even profound and noble spirits, like Augustine, who was nine years a member of it. But it was violently persecuted in the Roman empire, first by Diocletian (A.D. 287), and afterwards by the Christian emperors, till in the sixth century it yielded and disappeared. Yet the system itself extended its influence throughout the middle ages, re-appearing, under different modifications, in the Priscillianists, Paulicians, Bogomiles, Catharists, and other sects, which were therefore called New Manichæans. Indeed the leading features of Manichæism, the dualistic separation of soul and body, the ascription of nature to the devil, the pantheistic confusion of the moral and the physical, the hypocritical symbolism, concealing heathen views under Christian phrases, the haughty air of mystery, and the aristocratic distinction of esoteric and exoteric, still live in various forms even in modern

systems of philosophy and sects of religion. (The Mormons of our day strongly bring to mind, in many respects, even in their organization, the ancient Manichaeans.)

2. In its doctrine, Manichaeism, like the kindred Gnosticism, is a compound of Christianity with paganism; with the dualism of the Persian religion and the pantheism of the Indian. The foundation, properly speaking, is the Zoroastrian doctrine in its rigidly dualistic form, as restored by the school of the Magusaeans under the reign of the Sassanides towards the middle of the second century. On this basis some Gnostic Christian elements are mechanically laid. The whole Old Testament is rejected, and most of the New, to give way to the authority of the writings of Mani and some apocryphal Gospels and Acts.

The system begins with an eternal antagonism between the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness. From a wild assault of the latter upon the former results the present world, which exhibits a mixture of the two elements, detached portions of light imprisoned in darkness. Every individual man, even, is at once a son of light and of darkness, has a good soul, and a body substantially evil, with an evil soul corresponding to it. The redemption of the light from the bonds of the darkness is effected by Christ, identical with the sun spirit, and by the Holy Ghost, who has his seat in the ether. These two beings attract the light-forces out of the material world, while the evil demon, or the prince of darkness, and the spirits imprisoned in the stars, seek to keep them back. The sun and moon are the two light-ships¹ for conducting the imprisoned light into the eternal kingdom of light. The full moon represents the ship laden with light; the new moon, the vessel emptied of its cargo; and the twelve signs of the zodiac also serve as buckets in this pumping operation.

The Manichaean christology, like the Gnostic, is entirely docetic, and, by its perverted view of body and matter, wholly excludes the idea of an incarnation of God. The teachings of Christ were compiled and falsified by the apostles in the spirit

¹ *Lucidae naves.*

of Judaism. Mani, the promised paraclete, has restored them. The goal of history is an entire separation of the light from the darkness; upon which the latter sinks into impotence.

Thus Christianity is here resolved into a fantastic, dualistico-pantheistic philosophy of nature; moral regeneration is identified with a process of physical refinement; and the whole mystery of redemption is found in light, which was always worshipped in the East as the symbol of deity. Unquestionably there pervades the Manichaean system a kind of groaning of the creature for redemption, and a deep sympathy with nature, that hieroglyphic of spirit; but all is distorted and confused. The suffering Jesus on the cross, *Jesus patibilis*, is here a mere illusion, a symbol of the world-soul still enchained in matter, and is seen in every plant which works upwards from the dark bosom of the earth towards the light; towards bloom and fruit, yearning after freedom. Hence the class of the "perfect" would not kill nor wound a beast, pluck a flower, nor break a blade of grass. The system, instead of being, as it pretends, a liberation of light from darkness, is really a turning of light into darkness.

3. The morality of the Manichaeans was severely ascetic, based on the fundamental error of the intrinsic evil of matter and the body; the extreme opposite of the Pelagian view of the essential moral purity of human nature. The great moral aim is, to become entirely unworldly in the Buddhistic sense; to renounce and destroy corporeity; to set the good soul free from the fetters of matter. This is accomplished by the most rigid and gloomy abstinence, which, however, is required only of the elect, not of catechumens. There is a three-fold seal or preservative of perfection: (a) The *signaculum oris*; that is, purity in words and in diet, abstinence from all animal food and strong drink, even in the holy supper, and restriction to vegetable diet, which was furnished to the perfect by the "hearers," particularly olives, as their oil is the food of light. (b) The *signaculum manuum*; renunciation of earthly property, and of material and industrial pursuits, even agriculture; with a sacred reverence for the divine light-life diffused through all nature. (c) The *signaculum*

sinus, or celibacy; marriage, or rather procreation, being a contamination with corporeity, which is essentially evil. This unnatural holiness at the same time atoned for the unavoidable daily sins of the catechumens. It was accompanied, however, as in the Gnostics, with an excessive pride of knowledge, and its fair show not rarely concealed refined forms of vice.

4. Organization and cultus. Manichaeism differed from all the Gnostic schools in having a fixed, and that a strictly hierarchical, organization. At the head of the sect stood twelve apostles, or *magistri*, among whom Mani and his successors, like Peter and the pope, held the chief place. Under them were seventy-two bishops, answering to the seventy-two (strictly seventy) disciples of Jesus; and under these came presbyters, deacons, and itinerant evangelists. In the congregation there were two distinct classes, designed to correspond to the catechumens and the faithful in the catholic church: the "hearers;"¹ and the "perfect," the esoteric, the priestly caste,² which represents the last stage in the process of the liberation of the spirit and its separation from the world, the transition from the kingdom of matter into the kingdom of light, or, in Buddhistic terms, from the world of Sansara into Nirwana.

The worship of the Manichaeans was, on the whole, very simple. They observed Sunday, in honor of the sun, which was with them the same with the redeemer; and, contrary to the custom of the catholic Christians, they made it a day of fasting. They rejected the church festivals, but instead celebrated in March with great pomp the day of the death of their divinely appointed teacher, Mani.³ They repudiated baptism, considering it useless; the perfect, it seems, partook of the holy supper, sometimes even under disguise in catholic churches, but without wine (because Christ had no blood), and regarding it perhaps according to their pantheistic symbolism, as the commemoration of the light-soul crucified in all nature. Their sign of recognition

¹ *Auditores*.

² *Electi*, *perfecti*, *τέλειτοι*; the sacerdotal genus, as Faustus terms it.

³ The feast of "the chair," *Bege*, *cathedra*.

was the extension of the right hand as a symbol of the common deliverance from the kingdom of darkness by the redeeming hand of the spirit of the sun.

§ 74. *The Catholic Theology.*

For the literature, see §§ 68 and 70.

By the wide-spread errors now described the church was challenged to a mighty intellectual combat, from which she came forth victorious, according to the promise of her Lord, that the Holy Ghost should guide her into all truth. To the subjective, baseless, and ever-changing speculations, dreams, and fictions of the heretics, she opposed the substantial, solid realities of the divine revelation. Christian theology grew, indeed, as by inward necessity, from the demand of faith for knowledge. But heresy, Gnosticism in particular, gave it a powerful impulse from without, and came as a fertilizing thunder-storm upon the field. Of course, the church possessed the truth from the beginning, in the experience of faith, and in the holy scriptures, which she handed down with scrupulous fidelity from generation to generation. But now came the task of developing the substance of the Christian truth in theoretical form,¹ fortifying it on all sides, and presenting it in clear light before the understanding. Thus the Christian polemic and dogmatic theology, or the church's logical apprehension of the doctrines of salvation, unfolded itself in this conflict with heresy, as the apologetic literature and martyrdom had arisen through Jewish and heathen persecution.

From this time forth the distinction between catholic and heretical, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, the faith of the church and private judgment, became steadily more prominent. Every doctrine which agreed with the holy scriptures and the faith of the church, was received as catholic; that is, universal, alone, and exclusive.² Whatever deviated materially from this stand

¹ Λογικώτερον, as Eusebius has it

² The term, catholic, is first applied ecclesiastically by Ignatius.

ard, every arbitrary and personal opinion, framed by this or that individual, every theoretical distortion or corruption of the revealed doctrines of Christianity, every departure from the public sentiment of the church, was considered heresy.¹

Almost all the church fathers of the second and third centuries came out against these fundamental heresies, either with arguments from scripture, with the tradition of the church, or with rational demonstration, proving them inwardly inconsistent and absurd.

But in doing this, while they are one in spirit and purpose, they pursue two very different courses, determined by the differences between the Greek and Roman national characters, and by peculiarities of mental organization and the appointment of providence. The Greek theology, above all the Alexandrian, represented by Clement and Origen, is predominantly idealistic and speculative, dealing with the objective doctrines of God, the incarnation, the trinity, and christology; endeavoring to supplant the false Gnosis by a true knowledge, an orthodox philosophy, resting on the Christian pistis. The Latin theology, particularly the North African, whose most distinguished representatives are Tertullian and Cyprian, is more realistic and practical, concerned with the doctrines of human nature and of salvation, and more directly hostile to Gnosticism and philosophy. With this is connected the fact, that the Greek fathers were first philosophers; the Latin were mostly lawyers and statesmen; the former reached the Christian faith in the way of speculation, the latter in the spirit of practical morality. Characteristically, too, the Greek church built mainly upon the apostle John, pre-eminently the contemplative "divine;" the Latin upon Peter, the practical leader of the church. While Clement of Alexandria and Origen often wander away into cloudy, almost Gnostic speculation, and threaten to resolve into thin spiritualism the real substance of the Christian ideas, Tertullian sets himself implacably against Gnosticism and the heathen philosophy on which it rests: "What

¹ From *αἵρεσις*, choice, caprice, error, also sect; comp. Tit. iii 10. 2 Pet. ii. 1 1 Cor. xi. 19.

fellowship," he asks, "is there between Athens and Jerusalem, the academy and the church, heretics and Christians?" But this difference is only relative. With all their spiritualism, the Alexandrians still committed themselves to a striking literalism; while, in spite of his aversion to philosophy, Tertullian labors with the profound speculative ideas which come to their full birth in Augustine.

Irenaeus, who sprang from the Eastern church, and used the Greek language, but labored in the West, holds a kind of mediating position between the two branches of the church, and may be taken as, on the whole, the most moderate and sound representative of ecclesiastical orthodoxy in the period before us. He is as decided against Gnosticism as Tertullian, without overlooking the speculative want betrayed in that system. His refutation of the Gnosis,¹ written between 177 and 192, is the leading polemic work of the second century. In the first book of this work, Irenaeus gives a full account of the Valentinian system of Gnosis; in the second book he begins his refutation in philosophical and logical style; in the third, he brings against the system the catholic tradition and the holy scriptures, and vindicates the orthodox doctrine of the unity of God, the creation of the world, the incarnation of the Logos, against the docetistic denial of the true humanity of Christ and the Ebionistic denial of his true divinity; in the fourth book he further fortifies the same doctrines, and, against the antinomianism of the school of Marcion, demonstrates the unity of the Old and New Testaments; in the fifth and last book he presents his views on eschatology, particularly on the resurrection of the body—so offensive to the Gnostic spiritualism—and at the close treats of antichrist, the end of the world, the intermediate state, and the millennium.

His disciple Hippolytus gives us, in the "Philosophoumena," a still fuller account, in many respects, of the early heresies, and traces them up to their sources in the heathen systems of philosophy, but goes not so deep into the exposition of the catholic doctrines of the church.

¹ Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως.

The leading effort in this polemic literature was, of course, to develope and establish positively the Christian truth ; which is, at the same time, to refute most effectually the opposite error. The object was, particularly, to settle the doctrines of the rule of faith, the incarnation of God, and the true divinity and true humanity of Christ. In this effort the mind of the church, under the constant guidance of the divine word and the apostolic tradition, steered with unerring instinct between the threatening cliffs. Yet no little indefiniteness and obscurity still prevailed in the scientific apprehension and statement of these points. In this stormy time, too, there were as yet no general councils to settle doctrinal controversy by the voice of the whole church. The dogmas of the trinity and the person of Christ, did not reach maturity and final symbolical definition until the following period, or the Nicene age.

§ 75. *The Holy Scriptures and the Canon.*

J. KIRCHHOFFER: Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des N. Tlichen Kanons bis auf Hieronymus. Zür. 1844. Testimonia Ante-Nicaena pro auctoritate Scripturae, in ROUTH, Reliq. s., V. p. 336-354. Comp. the Introductions to the N. T. by Hug, Credner, De Wette, Reuss, Guericke, Horne, Davidson, &c. J. A. DANIEL: Theol. Controversen (the doctrine of the Scriptures as the source of knowledge). Halle, 1843. J. J. JACOBI: Die kirchl. Lehre von d. Tradition u. heil. Schrift in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt. Berl. I. 1847. A. ALEXANDER: The Canon of the Old and New Testaments ascertained. New ed. Phil. 1851.

The question of the source and rule of Christian knowledge lies at the foundation of all theology. We therefore notice it here before passing to the several doctrines of faith.

This source and this rule of knowledge are the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.¹ Here at once arises the inquiry as to the number and arrangement of the sacred writings, or the canon, in distinction both from the productions of enlightened but not inspired church teachers, and from the very numerous and in some cases still extant apocryphal works (gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses), which were composed chiefly in the

¹ Called simply *ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, scriptura, scripturae.*

second and third centuries, in the interest of heresies, and sent forth under the name of an apostle or other eminent person. These apocrypha, however, did not all originate with Ebionites and Gnostics; some were merely designed either to fill chasms in the history of Jesus and the apostles by idle stories, or to glorify Christianity by vaticinia post eventum, in the way of the pia fraus at that time freely allowed.

The canon of the Old Testament descended to the church from the Jews, with the sanction of Christ and the apostles. The New Testament canon was gradually formed, on the model of the Old, in the course of the first three centuries, under the guidance of the same Spirit, through whose suggestion the several apostolic books had been prepared. The first trace of it appears in the second Epistle of Peter iii. 15, where a collection of Paul's epistles¹ is presumed to exist, and is placed by the side of the other sacred books.² The apostolic fathers and the earlier apologists commonly appeal, indeed, for the divinity of Christianity to the Old Testament, to the oral preaching of the apostles, to the living faith of the Christian churches, the triumphant death of the martyrs, and the continued miracles. Yet their works contain quotations, generally without the name of the author, from the most important writings of the apostles, or at least allusions to those writings, enough to place their high antiquity and ecclesiastical authority beyond all doubt. The heretical canon of the Gnostic Marcion, of the middle of the second century, consisting of a mutilated gospel of Luke and ten of Paul's epistles, certainly implies the existence of an orthodox canon at this time, as heresy always presupposes truth, of which it is a caricature. The principal books of the New Testament, the four Gospels, the Acts, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, the first Epistle of Peter, and the first of John, which are designated by Eusebius as "homologoumena," were in general use in the church as early as the second century, and acknowledged to be apostolic, inspired by the Spirit of Christ, and therefore authoritative and canonical. This is established by the testimony of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of

¹ Ἐν πέντε, ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς.

² Τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς.

Alexandria, and Origen, of the Peshito, and the Fragment of Muratori—persons and documents which represent in this matter the church in Asia Minor, Italy, Gaul, North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. We may therefore call these books the original canon. Concerning the other seven books, the “antilegomena” of Eusebius, viz. the Epistle to the Hebrews,¹ the Apocalypse,² the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of James, and the Epistle of Jude,—the tradition of the church in the time of Eusebius, the beginning of the fourth century, still wavered between acceptance and rejection. There was a second class of antilegomena, called by Eusebius *νόθα*, consisting of several post-apostolic writings, viz. the catholic Epistle of Barnabas, the first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the lost Apocalypse of Peter and the Gospel of the Hebrews; which were read at least in some churches, but were afterwards generally separated from the canon. The first express definition of the New Testament canon, in the form in which it has since been universally retained, comes from the North African synod held in the year 393 at Hippo, the episcopal see of Augustine. By that time, at least, the whole church must have already become entirely unanimous as to the number of the canonical books; so that there seemed to be no need even of the sanction of a general council. The Eastern church, at all events, was entirely independent of the North African in the matter. The name *Novum Testamentum*,³ also *Novum Instrumentum* (a juridical term conveying the idea of legal validity), occurs first in Tertullian. This canon was currently divided into two parts, the Gospel and the Apostle;⁴ and the second part into catholic or general epistles, and Pauline.

¹ Which was regarded as canonical indeed, but not as genuine in the West.

² Which has the strongest external testimony, that of Justin, Irenaeus, &c., in its favor, and came into question only in the third century through some anti-chilists, on dogmatical grounds.

³ *Διαθήκη*, comp. Matt. xxvi. 28, where the Vulgate translates, “testamentum.”

⁴ *Τὰ εὐαγγελικά καὶ τὰ ἀποστολικά, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος*; *instrumentum evangelicum, apostolicum, or evangelium, apostolus*.

As to the origin and character of the apostolic writings, the church fathers adopted for the New Testament the theory of inspiration applied by the Jews to the Old; regarding the several books as composed with such extraordinary aid from the Holy Ghost, as secured their freedom from errors (according to Origen, even from faults of memory). Yet this was not regarded as excluding the writer's own activity and individuality. Irenaeus, for example, sees in Paul a peculiar style, which he attributes to the mighty flow of thought in his ardent mind. The Alexandrians, however, enlarged the idea of inspiration to a doubtful breadth. Clement of Alexandria calls the works of Plato inspired, because they contain truth; and he considers all that is beautiful and good in history, a breath of the infinite, a tone, which the divine Logos draws forth from the lyre of the human soul.

As a production of the Holy Ghost and his inspired organs, the sacred scriptures, without critical distinction between the Old and New Testaments, were acknowledged and employed against heretics as an infallible source of knowledge and an unerring rule of Christian faith and practice. Irenaeus calls the gospel a pillar and ground of the truth. Tertullian demands scripture proof for every doctrine, and declares, that heretics cannot stand on pure scriptural ground. In Origen's view, nothing deserves credit which cannot be confirmed by the testimony of scripture.

The exposition of the Bible was at first purely practical, and designed for direct edification. The controversy with the Gnostics called for a more scientific method. Both the orthodox and heretics, after the fashion of the rabbinical and Alexandrian Judaism, made large use of allegorical and mystical interpretation, and not rarely lost themselves amid the merest fancies and wildest vagaries.

But Origen was the first to lay down, in connexion with the allegorical method of the Jewish Platonist, Philo, a formal theory of interpretation, which he carried out in a long series of exegetical works. He considered the Bible a living organism, con-

sisting of three elements answering to the body, soul, and spirit of man, after the Platonic psychology. Accordingly, he attributed to the scriptures a threefold sense; (1) a somatic, literal, or historical sense, furnished immediately by the meaning of the words, but only serving as a veil for a higher idea; (2) a psychical or moral sense, animating the first, and serving for general edification; (3) a pneumatic or mystical and ideal sense, for those who stand on the high ground of philosophical knowledge. In the application of this theory he shows the same tendency as Philo, to spiritualize away the letter of scripture, especially where the plain historical sense seems unworthy, as in the history of David's crimes: and instead of simply bringing out the sense of the Bible, he puts into it all sorts of foreign ideas and irrelevant fancies. But this allegorizing suited the taste of the age, and, with his fertile mind and imposing learning, Origen was the exegetical oracle of the early church, till his orthodoxy fell into dispute. He is the pioneer, also, in the criticism of the sacred text.

In spite of the numberless exegetical vagaries and differences in detail, which confute the Roman idea of a "unanimis consensus patrum," there is still a certain unanimity among the fathers in their way of drawing the most important articles of faith from the scriptures. In their expositions they all follow one dogmatical principle, a kind of analogia fidei. This brings us to tradition.

§ 76. *Tradition and the Apostles' Creed.*

- I IREN.: Adv. haer. I. I. c. 9, § 5; I. 10, 1; III. 3, 1, 2; III. 4, 2. TERTULL De praescriptionibus haereticorum; especially c. 14, 17-19, 21, 35-36, 40 41. De Virgin. veland. c. 1. Adv. Prax. c. 2. On the other hand, Adv. Hermog. c. 22. De carne Christi, c. 7. De resurr. carnis, c. 3. CYPR.: De unitate eccl.; and on the other hand, Epist. 74.

On the Apostles' Creed comp. RUFINUS: Expos. in Symb. Apost. PEARSON: Exposition of the Creed, 1659 (Oxf. 1847, New York, 1851). P. KING: History of the Apostles' Creed, Lond. 1702. J. W. NEVIN: The Apostles' Creed, in the Mercersburg Rev., 1849.

Besides appealing to the Scriptures, the fathers, particularly

Irenaeus and Tertullian, refer with equal confidence to the "rule of faith;"¹ that is, the common faith of the church, as orally handed down in the unbroken succession of bishops from Christ and his apostles to their day, and above all as still living in the original apostolic churches, like those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome. Tradition is thus intimately connected with the primitive episcopate. The latter was the vehicle of the former, and both were looked upon as a bulwark against heresy.

Irenaeus confronts the secret tradition of the Gnostics with the open and unadulterated tradition of the catholic church, and points to all churches, but particularly to Rome as the visible centre of the unity of doctrine. All who would know the truth, says he, can see in the whole church the tradition of the apostles; and we can count the bishops, ordained by the apostles, and their successors down to our time, who neither taught nor knew any such heresies. Then, by way of example, he cites the first twelve bishops of the Roman church from Linus to Eleutherus, as witnesses of the pure apostolic doctrine. He might conceive of a Christianity without scripture, but he could not imagine a Christianity without living tradition; and for this opinion he refers to barbarian tribes, who have the gospel, "*sine charta et atramento*," written in their hearts.

Tertullian thinks to have found a universal antidote for all heresy in his celebrated prescription argument, which cuts off heretics, at the outset, from every right of appeal to the holy scriptures, on the ground, that the scriptures arose in the church of Christ, were given to her, and only in her and by her can be rightly understood. He calls attention also here to the tangible succession, which distinguishes the church from the arbitrary and ever-changing sects of heretics, and which in all the principal congregations, especially in the original sees of the apostles, reaches back without a break from bishop to bishop, to the apostles themselves, from the apostles to Christ, and from Christ to God. "Come now," says he, in his tract on Prescription, "if

¹ ὡν τῇ πίστεως, οἱ τὴν ἀληθείαν, παράδοσις τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, *regula fidei, lex fidei.*

you would practise inquiry to more advantage in the matter of your salvation, go through the apostolic churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still preside, in which their own authentic letters are publicly read, uttering the voice and representing the face of every one. If Achaia is nearest, you have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus. But if you live near Italy, you have Rome, whence also we (the African church) derive our origin. How happy is that church, to which the apostles poured out their whole doctrine with their blood," &c.

To estimate the weight of this argument, we must remember that these fathers still stood comparatively very near the apostolic age, and that the succession of bishops in the oldest churches could be demonstrated by the living memory of two or three generations. Irenaeus, in fact, had been acquainted in his youth with Polycarp, a disciple of St. John. But for this very reason we must guard against overrating this testimony, and employing it in behalf of traditions of later origin, not grounded in the Scriptures.

Nor can we suppose that those fathers ever thought of a blind, slavish subjection of private judgment to ecclesiastical authority, and to the decision of the bishops of the apostolic mother churches. The same Irenaeus frankly opposed the Roman bishop Victor. Tertullian, though he continued essentially orthodox, contested various points with the catholic church from his later Montanistic position, and laid down, though at first only in respect to a conventional custom—the veiling of virgins—the genuine Protestant principle, that the thing to be regarded, especially in matters of religion, is not custom but truth.¹ His pupil, Cyprian, with whom biblical and catholic were almost interchangeable terms, protested earnestly against the Roman theory and practice of heretical baptism, and in this controversy declared, in exact

¹ Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit. . . . Haereses non tam novitas quam veritas revincit. Quodcumque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit haeresis, etiam vetus consuetudo. De virg. vel. c. 1.

accordance with Tertullian, that custom without truth was only time-honored error.¹ The Alexandrians freely fostered all sorts of peculiar views, which were afterwards rejected as heretical; and though the *παράδοσις ἀποστολική* plays a prominent part with them, yet this and similar expressions have in their language a different sense, sometimes meaning simply the holy Scriptures. So, for example, in the well known passage of Clement: "As if one should be changed from a man to a beast after the manner of one charmed by Circe; so a man ceases to be God's and to continue faithful to the Lord, when he sets himself up against the church tradition, and flies off to positions of human caprice."

In the substance of its doctrine this apostolic tradition agrees with the holy Scriptures, and though derived, as to its form, from the oral preaching of the apostles, is really one and the same with those apostolic writings. In this view the apparent contradictions of the earlier fathers, in ascribing the highest authority to both Scripture and tradition in matters of faith, resolve themselves. It is one and the same gospel which the apostles preached with their lips, and then laid down in their writings, and which the church faithfully hands down by word and writing from one generation to another.

But in the narrower sense, by apostolic tradition or the **rule of faith**, *κανὼν τῆς πίστεως*, *regula fidei*, was understood a summary of Christianity, or a compend of the faith of the church. Such a compend we have to this day in what is called the *Apostles' Creed*, the fundamental confession of all branches of Christendom. It has been long since established, that as to form this venerable document is later than the apostles, but in contents is truly apostolic, and in harmony with the New Testament throughout. It grew no doubt gradually out of the confession of Peter² and the trinitarian formula of baptism.³ It early became the basis for the instruction of catechumens, and the form of confession for candidates for baptism on their solemn entrance into the church. Thus it became equivalent to a symbolum, that is, a sign of

¹ Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est. Ep. 74 (contra Stephanum), c. 9.

² Matt. xvi. 16; comp. Jno. vi. 68, 69.

³ Matt. xxviii. 19.

recognition among the orthodox Christians in distinction from unbelievers and heretics. It took different forms, longer or shorter, in different churches. Hence we have several such apostolic *regulæ fidei* in Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Rufinus, &c. The Oriental versions are commonly longer, and differ more from one another, than the Latin. In the earlier forms the article on the descent into hell, the predicate "catholic" before "church," the "communion of saints," and the "life everlasting," are wanting. But though these forms differ so much in words and in extent, and thus cannot be literally the production of the apostles, as a legend first mentioned by Rufinus († 410) would make them, they yet agree in substance; and Tertullian could justly say of the *regula fidei*, as he does even in one of his Montanistic works, that it is "*una omnino, sola immobilis et irreformabilis.*" From the fourth century the Roman form¹ gradually came into general use and supplanted the others.

This oldest and shortest symbol of faith is also the most catholic of all creeds, being employed to this day in catechetical and liturgical service throughout the Christian world, and forming the bond of unity for the Greek, the Roman, and the Evangelical branches of the church. Its great excellence, besides its age, is its simple and scriptural character. It is better adapted to catechetical and liturgical use than any other symbol, not even excepting the Nicene, which most nearly resembles it, and is really but an expansion of the Apostles' Creed in opposition to the Arian denial of the divinity of Christ. It follows the historical order of the revelation of the triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and brings together, in the most simple and intelligible language, the leading facts of this revelation from the creation of the world to the life everlasting, as so many articles of faith and acts of confession, in a grand liturgical epic for the edification of the church.

¹ Hence called also *Symbolum Romanum*.

§ 77. *God and the Creation of the World.*

In exhibiting the several doctrines of the church, we must ever bear in mind that Christianity entered the world, not as a logical system but as a divine-human fact; and that the New Testament is not a theological text-book for scholars, but a book of life for all believers. The doctrines of salvation, of course, lie in these facts of salvation, but in a concrete, living, ever fresh, and generally intelligible form. The logical, scientific development of those doctrines from the word of God and Christian experience is left to the church. Hence we must not be surprised to find in the period before us, even in the most eminent church teachers, a very indefinite and defective knowledge, as yet, of important articles of faith, whose practical force those teachers felt in their own hearts and impressed on others, as earnestly as their most orthodox successors. The centre of Christianity is the divine-human person and the divine-human work of Christ. From that centre a change passed through the whole circle of existing religious ideas, in its first principles and its last results, confirming what was true in the earlier religion, and rejecting the false.

Almost all the creeds of the first centuries, especially the Apostles' and the Nicene, begin with confession of faith in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of the visible and the invisible. With the defence of this fundamental doctrine laid down in the very first chapter of the Bible, Irenaeus opens his refutation of the Gnostic heresies; saying, in the language of Justin Martyr, that he would not have believed the Lord himself, if he had announced any other God than the Creator. He repudiates everything like an *a priori* construction of the idea of God, and bases his knowledge wholly on revelation and Christian experience.

We begin with the general idea of God, which lies at the bottom of all religion. This is refined, spiritualized, and invigorated by the manifestation in Christ. We perceive the advance particularly in Tertullian's view of the irresistible leaning of

the human soul towards God, and towards the only true God. "God will never be hidden," says he, "God will never fail mankind; he will always be recognised, always perceived, and seen, when man wishes. God has made all that we are, and all in which we are, a witness of himself. Thus he proves himself God, and the one God, by his being known to all; since another must first be proved. The sense of God is the original dowry of the soul; the same, and no other, in Egypt, in Syria, and in Pontus; for the God of the Jews all souls call their God." But nature also testifies of God. It is the work of his hand, and in itself good; not as the Gnostics taught, a product of matter, and intrinsically bad. Except as he reveals himself, God is, according to Irenaeus, absolutely hidden and incomprehensible. But in creation and redemption he has communicated himself, and can, therefore, not remain entirely concealed from any man. Of the various arguments for the existence of God, we find in this period the beginnings of the cosmological and physico-theological methods. In the mode of conceiving the divine nature we observe this difference; while the Alexandrians try to avoid all anthropomorphic and anthropopathic notions, and insist on the immateriality and spirituality of God almost to abstraction, Tertullian ascribes to him even corporeality; though probably, as he considers the non-existent alone absolutely incorporeal, he intends by corporeality only to denote the substantiality and concrete personality of the Supreme Being.¹

The doctrine of the unity of God, as the eternal, almighty, omnipresent, just, and holy creator and upholder of all things, the Christian church inherited from Judaism, and vindicated against the absurd polytheism of the pagans, and particularly against the dualism of the Gnostics, which supposed matter coeternal with God, and attributed the creation of the world to the intermediate demiurge. This dualism was only another form

¹ *Omne quod est corpus est sui generis. Nihil est incorporale, nisi quod non est. Habente igitur anima invisibile corpus, etc. (De carne Christi, c. 11.) Quis enim negabit, Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus spiritus est? Spiritus enim corpus cui generis in sua effigie. (Adv. Prax. c. 7.)*

of polytheism, which excludes absoluteness, and with it all proper idea of God.

As to creation: Irenaeus and Tertullian most firmly rejected the hylozoic and demiurgic views of paganism and Gnosticism, and taught, according to the book of Genesis,¹ that God made the world, including matter, not, of course, out of any material, but out of nothing, or, to express it positively, out of his free, almighty will by his word. This free will of God, a will of *love*, is the supreme, absolutely unconditioned, and all-conditioning cause and final reason of all existence, precluding every idea of physical force or of emanation. Every creature, since it proceeds from the good and holy God, is in itself, as to its essence, good.² Evil, therefore, is not an original and substantial entity, but a corruption of nature, and hence can be destroyed by the power of redemption. Without a correct doctrine of creation there can be no true doctrine of redemption, as all the Gnostic systems show. Origen's view of an eternal creation is peculiar. His thought is not so much that of an endless succession of new worlds, as that of ever new metamorphoses of the original world, revealing from the beginning the almighty power of God. With this is connected his Platonic view of the pre-existence of the soul.

Theological anthropology and soteriology remained altogether undeveloped till the time of the Pelagian disputes. The cause of the Christian faith demanded here the assertion both of man's need of redemption, against Epicurean levity and Stoical self-sufficiency, and man's capacity for redemption, against the Gnostic and Manichaeian idea of the intrinsic evil of nature, and against every form of fatalism. The Greek fathers, especially the Alexandrian, are very strenuous for the freedom of the will, as the ground of the accountability and the whole moral nature of man, and as indispensable to the distinction of virtue and vice. In the case of Origen this is the main pillar of his theological system. Irenaeus and Hippolytus cannot conceive of man without the two inseparable predicates of intelligence and freedom. And Tertul

¹ Comp. Psalm xxxiii. 9; cxlviii. 5. John i. 3.

² Gen. i. 31.

lian asserts expressly, against Marcion and Hermogenes, free will as one of the innate properties of the soul,¹ like derivation from God, immortality, instinct of dominion, and power of divination.² On the other side, however, Irenaeus, by his Pauline doctrine of the causal connexion of the original sin of Adam with the sinfulness of the whole human race, and especially Tertullian, by his view of hereditary sin and its propagation by generation,³ bore towards the Augustinian system.

§ 78. *The Logos, and the Incarnation.*

PETAVIUS (R. C.): *De theologicis dogmaticis*. Par. 1644-50, in 4 vols. Later ed. of Antw. 1700; Ven. 1721 and 1745, in 6 vols. (This thoroughly learned Jesuit, in his section de trinitate, has collected most of the passages of the ante-Nicene fathers, and admits, I. 5, 7, 8, 2, a progressive development of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and of the trinity, for which the Anglican, G. Bull, severely censures him.) G. BULL: *Defensio fidei Nicaenae de aeterna divinitate Filii Dei, ex scriptis catholic. doctorum, qui intra tria ecclesiae Christianae secula floruerunt*. Oxf. 1685. (Lond. 1703; also in Bish. Bull's Complete Works, ed. by Burton, 1846, 8 vols.) Against him CLERKE wrote three tracts: *Brevis responsio ad Bulli defensionem fidei Nicaenae*. Lond. 1695. MARTINI: *Gesch. des Dogmas von der Gottheit Christi in den ersten 4 Jahrh.* Rost. 1809 (rationalistic). MÖHLER (R. C.): *Athanasius der Gr.* Mainz, 1827 (Bk. I. Der Glaube der Kirche der drei ersten Jahrh. in Betreff der Trinität, &c., p. 1-116). F. C. BAUR: *Die christl. Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit u. Menschwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Tüb. 1841-43. 3 vols. (I. p. 129-341). G. A. MEIER: *Die Lehre von der Trinität in ihrer hist. Entwicklung*. Hamb. 1844. 2 vols. (I. p. 45-134). J. A. DORNER: *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi* (1839), 2d ed. Stuttg. u. Berl. 1845-56. 2 vols. (I. p. 122-747). ROBT. I. WILBERFORCE (first Anglican, then, since 1854, R. C.): *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church* (more doctrinal than historical). 4th ed. Lond. 1852. (Ch. 5, p. 93-

¹ Inesse nobis τὸ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν naturaliter, jam et Marcioni ostendimus et Hermogeni. De anima, c. 21. Comp. Adv. Marc. II. 5 sqq.

² Definimus animam Dei flatu natam, immortalem, corporalem, effigiatam, substantiasimplicem, de suo sapientem, varie procedentem, liberam arbitrii, accidentis obnoxium, per ingenia mutabilem, rationalem, dominatricem, divinatricem, ex una redundantem. De anima, c. 22.

³ "Tradux animae tradux peccati." Hence traducianism in distinction from creatianism, and the doctrine of preexistence.

147), also republ. Philad. 1849. P. SCHAFF: *The Conflict of Trinitarianism and Unitarianism in the ante-Nicene age*, Bibl. Sacra, And. 1858, Oct.

The Messiahship and divine sonship of Jesus of Nazareth, first confessed by Peter in the name of all the apostles and the eye-witnesses of the divine glory of his person and his work, as the most sacred and precious fact of their experience, and after the resurrection adoringly acknowledged by the sceptical Thomas in that exclamation, "My Lord, and my God!"—is the foundation stone of the Christian church;¹ and the denial of the mystery of the incarnation is the mark of antichristian heresy.² The whole theological energy of the ante-Nicene period concentrated itself, therefore, upon the doctrine of Christ as the God-man and Redeemer of the world. This doctrine was the kernel of all the creeds used in the initiatory sacrament of baptism, and was stamped upon the entire life, constitution, and worship of the early church. It was not only expressly asserted by the fathers against heretics, but also professed by the church in her daily worship, especially in the holy supper and the Easter festival, and sealed by the sufferings and death of numberless confessors and martyrs. Nay, life anticipated doctrine, and Christian experience contained more than divines could in clear words express. The divinity of Christ, and with this the divinity of the Holy Ghost, were from the first immovably fixed in the Christian mind. But the complete definition of this divinity, and of its relation to the Old Testament fundamental doctrine of the unity³ of the divine essence—in a word, the church dogma of the trinity—was the work of three centuries, and was fairly accomplished only in the Nicene age. In the first efforts of reason to grapple with these unfathomable mysteries, we must expect mistakes and inaccuracies of every kind. In the apostolic fathers we find for the most part only the simple biblical statements of the deity and humanity of Christ, in the practical form needed for general edification. Of those fathers Ignatius is most deeply imbued with the conviction, that the crucified Jesus is God incarnate,

¹ Matt xvi 16 sqq.

² 1 John iv. 1-3.

³ *Μοναρχία*.

and indeed frequently calls him, without qualification, God. The development of Christology in the scientific doctrine of the Logos begins with Justin and culminates in Origen. From him then proceed two opposite modes of conception, the Athanasian and the Arian; of which the former at last triumphs in the council of Nice, A.D. 325, and confirms its victory in the council of Constantinople, 381.

1. The dogma of the *divinity* of Christ is the centre of interest. It comes into the foreground, not only against rationalistic Monarchianism and Ebionism, which degrade Christ to a second Moses, but also against Gnosticism, which, though it holds him to be superhuman, still puts him on a level with other aeons of the ideal world, and thus, by endlessly multiplying sons of God, after the manner of the heathen mythology, pantheistically dilutes and destroys all idea of a specific sonship. The development of this dogma started from the Old Testament idea of the word and the wisdom of God; from the Jewish Platonism of Alexandria; above all, from the Christology of Paul, and from the Logos doctrine of John. This view of John gave a mighty impulse to Christian speculation, and furnished it ever fresh material. It was the form under which all the Greek fathers conceived the divine nature and divine dignity of Christ before his incarnation. The term Logos was peculiarly serviceable here, from its well known double meaning of "reason" and "word," ratio and oratio; though in John it is evidently used in the latter sense alone.

Following the suggestion of this double meaning, and the precedent of a similar distinction by Philo, Justin Martyr distinguishes in the Logos, that is, the divine being of Christ, two elements: the immanent, or that which determines the revelation of God to himself within himself;¹ and the transitive, in virtue of which God reveals himself outwardly.² The act of the procession of the Logos from God³ he illustrates by the figure of generation,⁴ without division or diminution of the divine sub-

¹ ὁ ὁ λόγος ἐνδιὰστροφος.

² ὁ λόγος προφασιστικός.

³ Πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν.

⁴ Γεννᾶν, γ' ἐκείνους.

stance; and in this view the Logos is the only and absolute Son of God, the only-begotten. The generation, however, is not with him an eternal act, grounded in metaphysical necessity, as with Athanasius and in the later church doctrine. It took place at, or properly immediately before, the creation of the world, and proceeded from the free will of God. This begotten (but, it would seem, not ante-mundane) Logos he conceives as a hypostatical being, a person numerically distinct from the Father; and to the agency of this person before his incarnation¹ Justin attributes the creation and support of the universe, all the theophanies (christophanies) of the Old Testament, and all that is true and rational in the heathen world. In his efforts to reconcile this view with monotheism, he at one time asserts the moral unity of the two divine persons, and at another decidedly subordinates the Son to the Father. Justin thus combines hypostasianism, or the theory of the independent, personal (hypostatical) divinity of Christ, with subordinatianism; he is, therefore, as Semisch in his monograph² has conclusively proved, neither Arian nor Athanasian; but his whole theological tendency, in opposition to the heresies, was evidently towards the orthodox system, and had he lived later, he would have subscribed the Nicene creed. The same may be said of Tertullian and of Origen.

The further development of the doctrine of the Logos we find in the other apologists, in Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and especially in the Alexandrian school.

Clement of Alexandria speaks in the very highest terms of the Logos, but leaves his independent personality obscure. He makes the Logos the ultimate principle of all existence, without beginning and timeless; the revealer of the Father, the sum of all intelligence and wisdom, the personal truth, the speaking as well as the spoken word of creative power, the proper author of the world, the source of light and life, the great educator of the human race, at last becoming man, to draw us into fellowship with him and make us partakers of his divine nature.

Λόγος ἄσαρκος.

² Just. der Märtyr. II. 289 sqq.

Origen felt the whole weight of the christological and trinitarian question, but obscured it by his foreign speculations, and wavered between the homousian, or orthodox, and the subordinatian theories, which afterwards came into sharp conflict with each other in the Arian controversy. On the one hand he brings the Son as near as possible to the essence of the Father; not only making him the absolute personal wisdom, truth, righteousness, reason,¹ but also expressly predicating eternity of him, and propounding the church dogma of the *eternal* generation of the Son. This generation he usually represents as proceeding from the will of the Father; but he also conceives it as proceeding from his essence; and hence, at least in one passage, in a fragment on the Epistle to the Hebrews, he already applies the term *ἰμοσύσιος* to the Son, thus declaring him coëqual in substance with the Father. This idea of eternal generation, however, has a peculiar form in him, from its close connexion with his doctrine of an eternal creation. He can no more think of the Father without the Son, than of an almighty God without creation, or of light without radiance.² Hence he describes this generation not as a single, instantaneous act, but, like creation, ever going on.³ But on the other hand he distinguishes the essence of the Son from that of the Father; speaks of a difference of substance;⁴ and makes the Son decidedly inferior to the Father, calling him, with reference to John i. 1, merely *θεός* without the article, that is, God in a relative sense (*Deus de Deo*), also *δεύτερος θεός*, but the Father God in the absolute sense, *ὁ θεός* (*Deus per se*), or *ἀπείθεος*, also the fountain and root of the divinity.⁵ Hence he also taught, that the Son should not be directly addressed in prayer, but the Father through the Son in the Holy Ghost. This must be limited, no

¹ *Ἀποσοφία, ἀποκαλύψαι, αὐτ. διασωσύνη, αὐτοδύναμις, αὐτάλητος*, etc.

² De princ. IV. 28: Sicut lux nunquam sine splendore esso potuit, ita nec Filius quidem sine Patre intelligi potest.

³ I. 2. 4: Est æterna et sempiterna generatio, sicut splendor generatur a luce Hom. in Jerem. IX. 4: 'Αεὶ γεννᾷ ὁ Πατήρ τὸν Υἱόν.

⁴ 'Ὁ πατήρ τῆς αἰτίας, or τὸν ὑποκειμένον, which the advocates of his orthodoxy, probably without reason, take as merely opposing the Patripassian conception of the *ὁμοουσία*.

⁵ Πηγὴ, 'ρίζα τῆς θεότητος.

doubt, to absolute worship, for he elsewhere recognises prayer to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.¹ Yet this subordination of the Son formed a stepping-stone to Arianism, and some disciples of Origen, particularly Dionysius of Alexandria, decidedly approached that heresy. Against this, however, the deeper Christian sentiment, even before the Arian controversy, put forth firm protest, especially in the person of the Roman Dionysius, to whom his Alexandrian namesake and colleague magnanimously yielded.

In a simpler way the western fathers, including here Irenaeus and Hippolytus, who labored in the west, though they were of Greek training, reached the position, that Christ must be one with the Father, yet personally distinct from him. It is commonly supposed that they came nearer the homoousion than the Greeks. This can be said of Irenaeus, but not of Tertullian. And as to Cyprian, whose sphere was exclusively that of church government and discipline, he had nothing peculiar in his speculative doctrines.

Irenaeus, after Polycarp the most faithful representative of the Johannean school, keeps more within the limits of the simple biblical statements, and ventures no such bold speculations as the Alexandrians, but is more sound and much nearer the Nicene standard. He likewise uses the terms Logos and Son of God interchangeably, and concedes the distinction, made also by the Valentinians, between the inward and the uttered word,² in reference to man, but contests the application of it to God, who is above all antitheses, absolutely simple and unchangeable, and in whom before and after, thinking and speaking, coincide. He repudiates also every speculative or *a priori* attempt to explain the derivation of the Son from the Father; this he holds to be an incomprehensible mystery.³ He is content to define the actual distinction between Father and Son, by saying that the former

¹ For example, Ad Rom. I. p. 472: *Adorare alium quempiam praeter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, impietatis est crimen.*

² Το λόγος ἐνδὲ ἰδεῖν and λ. προφητικός.

³ Adv. haer. II. 28, 6: Si quis nobis dixerit: quomodo ergo Filius prolatus a Patre est? dicimus ei—nemo novit nisi solus, qui generavit Pater et qui natus est Filius.

is God revealing himself, the latter, God revealed; the one is the ground of revelation, the other is the actual, appearing revelation itself. Hence he calls the Father the invisible of the Son, and the Son the visible of the Father. He discriminates most rigidly the conceptions of generation and of creation. The Son, though begotten of the Father, is still, like him, distinguished from the created world, as increate, without beginning, and eternal. All plainly showing, that Irenaeus is much nearer the Nicene dogma of the substantial identity of the Son with the Father, than Justin and the Alexandrians. If, as he does in several passages, he still subordinates the Son to the Father, he is certainly inconsistent; and that for want of an accurate distinction between the eternal Logos and the actual Christ.¹ Expressions like, "My Father is greater than I," which apply only to the Christ of history, he refers also, like Justin and Origen, to the eternal Word. On the other hand, he has been charged with leaning in the opposite direction towards the Sabellian and Patripassian views, but unjustly.² Apart from his frequent want of precision in expression, he steers in general, with sure biblical and churchly tact, equally clear of both extremes, and asserts alike the essential unity and the eternal personal distinction of the Father and the Son. The incarnation of the Logos he ably discusses, viewing it both as a restoration and redemption from sin and death, and as the completion of the revelation of God and of the creation of man. In the latter view, as finisher, Christ is the perfect Son of Man, in whom the likeness of man to God, the *similitudo Dei*, regarded as moral duty, in distinction from the *imago Dei*, as an essential property, becomes for the first time fully real. According to this the incarnation would be grounded in the original plan of God for the education of mankind, and independent of the fall; it would have taken place even without the fall, though in some other form. Yet Irenaeus does not expressly say this; speculation

¹ The *ὁμοιότης* and the *ὁμοίωσις*.

² As Duncker in his monograph: *Die Christologie des heil. Irenäus*, p. 50 sqq., has unanswerably shown.

on abstract possibilities was foreign to his realistic cast of mind.

Tertullian cannot escape the charge of subordinationism. He bluntly calls the Father the whole divine substance, and the Son a part of it;¹ illustrating their relation by the figures of the fountain and the stream, the sun and the beam. He would not have two suns, he says, but he might call Christ God, as Paul does in Rom. ix. 5. The sunbeam, too, in itself considered, may be called sun, but not the sun a beam. Sun and beam are two distinct things (species) in one essence (substantia), as God and the Word, as the Father and the Son. But we should not take figurative language too strictly, and must remember that Tertullian was specially interested to distinguish the Son from the Father in opposition to the Patripassian Praxeas. In other respects he did the church Christology material service. He propounds a three-fold hypostatical existence of the Son (filiatio): (1) The pre-existent, eternal immanence of the Son in the Father; they being as inseparable as reason and word in man, who was created in the image of God, and hence in a measure reflects his being;² (2) the coming forth of the Son with the Father for the purpose of the creation; (3) the manifestation of the Son in the world by the incarnation.

With equal energy Hippolytus combated Patripassianism, and insisted on the recognition of different hypostases with equal claim to divine worship. Yet he, too, is somewhat trammelled with the subordinationian view.

On the other hand, according to his representation in the *Homologoumena*, the Roman bishops Zephyrinus and especially Callistus favored Patripassianism. The later popes, however, were firm defenders of hypostasianism. One of them, Dionysius, A.D. 262, as we shall see more fully when speaking of the trinity,

¹ Adv. Prax. c. 9: Pater tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et portio. sicut ipse profitetur: Quia Pater major Me est (John xiv. 28).

² Hence he says (Adv. Prax. c. 5), by way of illustration: Quodcunque cogitaveris, sermo est; quodcunque senseris, actio est. Loquaris illud in animo necesse est, et dum loqueris, conlocutorem pateris sermonem, in quo inest haec ipsa ratio quae cum eo cogitans loquaris, per quem loquens cogitas.

maintained at once the homoousion and eternal generation against Dionysius of Alexandria, and the hypostatical distinction against Sabellianism, and sketched in bold and clear outlines the Nicene standard view.

§ 79. *Christology, continued.*

2. Passing now to the doctrine of the Saviour's *humanity*, we find this asserted by Ignatius as clearly and forcibly as his divinity. Of the Gnostic Docetists of his day, who made Christ a spectre, he says, they are bodiless spectres themselves, whom we should fear as wild beasts in human shape, because they tear away the foundation of our hope.¹ He attaches great importance to the flesh, that is, the full reality of the human nature of Christ, his true birth from the virgin, and his crucifixion under Pontius Pilate; he calls him God incarnate;² therefore is his death the fountain of life.

Irenaeus refutes Docetism at length. Christ, he contends against the Gnostics, must be man, like us, if he would redeem us from corruption and make us perfect. As sin and death came into the world by a man, so they could be blotted out legitimately and to our advantage only by a man; though of course not by one who should be a mere descendant of Adam, and thus himself in need of redemption, but by a second Adam, supernaturally begotten, a new progenitor of our race, as divine as he is human. A new birth unto life must take the place of the old birth unto death. As the completer, also, Christ must enter into fellowship with us, to be our teacher and pattern. He made himself equal with man, that man, by his likeness to the Son, might become precious in the Father's sight. Irenaeus conceived the humanity of Christ not as mere corporeality, though he often contends for this alone against the Gnostics, but as true humanity, embracing body, soul, and spirit. He places Christ in the same relation to the regenerate race, which Adam bears to the natural, and

¹ Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 2-5.

² *Ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος θεός* (ad Ephes. c. 7); also *ἑνωσις σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος*. Comp. Rom. i. 3, 4, ix. 5; 1 John iv. 1-3.

regards him as the absolute, universal man, the prototype and summing up¹ of the whole race. Connected with this is his beautiful thought, found also in Hippolytus in the tenth book of the *Philosophoumena*, that Christ made the circuit of all the stages of human life, to redeem and sanctify all. To apply this to advanced age, he singularly extended the life of Jesus to fifty years, and endeavored to prove his view from the gospels against the Valentinians. The full communion of Christ with men involved his participation in all their evils and sufferings, his death, and his descent into the abode of the dead.

Tertullian advocates the entire yet sinless humanity of Christ against both the Docetistic Gnostics² and the Patripassians.³ He accuses the former of making Christ, who is all truth, a half lie, and by the denial of his flesh resolving all his work in the flesh, his sufferings and his death, into an empty show, and subverting the whole scheme of redemption. Against the Patripassians he argues, that God the Father is incapable of suffering, and is beyond the sphere of finiteness and change. In the humanity, he expressly includes the soul; and this, in his view, comprises the reason also; for he adopts not the trichotomic, but the dycho-tomic division. The body of Christ, before the exaltation, he conceived to have been even ugly. This singular view, quite common in the early age of the church, and founded on a misapprehension of Isa. liii. 2, where the Messiah is figuratively said to have "no form nor comeliness," is connected with the aversion of the ancient church to art and earthly splendor, and with her servant-form in the period of persecution.

Clement of Alexandria likewise adopted the notion of the uncomely personal appearance of Jesus, but compensated it with the thought of the moral beauty of his soul. In his effort, however, to idealize the body of the Lord, and raise it above all sensual desires and wants, he almost reaches Gnostic Docetism.

The Christology of Origen is more fully developed in this

¹ Ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις, recapitulatio, a term frequently used by Irenaeus. Comp. Rom. xiii. 9; Eph. i. 10.

² Adv. Marcionem, and De Carne Christi.

³ Adv. Praxeam.

part, as well as in the article of the divine nature, and peculiarly modified by his Platonizing view of the pre-existence and pre-Adamic fall of souls and their confinement in the prison of corporeity; but it is likewise too idealistic, and inclined to substitute the superhuman for the purely human. He conceives the incarnation as a gradual process, and distinguishes two stages in it—the assumption of the soul, and the assumption of the body. The Logos, before the creation of this world, nay, from the beginning, took to himself a human soul, which had no part in the antemundane apostasy, but clave to the Logos in perfect love, and was warmed through by him, as iron by fire. Then this fair soul, married to the Logos, took from the Virgin Mary a true body, yet without sin; not by way of punishment, like the fallen souls, but from love to men, to effect their redemption. Again, Origen distinguished various forms of the manifestation of this human nature, in which the Lord became all things to all men, to gain all. To the great mass he appeared in the form of a servant; to his confidential disciples and persons of culture, in a radiance of the highest beauty and glory, such as, even before the resurrection, broke forth from his miracles and in the transfiguration on Mount Tabor. In connexion with this comes Origen's view of a gradual spiritualization and deification of the body of Christ, even to the ubiquity which he ascribes to it in its exalted state. On this insufficient ground his opponents charged him with teaching a double Christ (answering to the lower Jesus and the higher Soter of the Gnostics), and a merely temporary validity in the corporeity of the Redeemer. He is the first to apply to Christ the term God-man,¹ which leads to the true view of the relation of the two natures.

3. The doctrine of the *mutual relation* of the divine and the human in Christ did not come into special discussion nor reach a definite settlement until the Christological controversies of the fifth century. Yet Irenaeus, in several passages, throws out important hints. He teaches unequivocally a true and indissoluble union of divinity and humanity in Christ, and repels the

¹ Θεάνθρωπος.

Gnostic idea of a mere external and transient connexion of the divine Soter with the human Jesus. The foundation for that union he perceives in the creation of the world by the Logos, and in man's original likeness to God and destination for permanent fellowship with Him. In the act of union, that is, in the supernatural generation and birth, the divine is the active principle, and the seat of personality; the human, the passive or receptive; as, in general, man is absolutely dependent on God, and is the vessel to receive the revelations of his wisdom and love. The medium and bond of the union is the Holy Ghost, who took the place of the masculine agent in the generation, and overshadowed the virgin womb of Mary with the power of the Highest. In this connexion he calls Mary the counterpart of Eve, the "mother of all living" in a higher sense; who, by her believing obedience, became the cause of salvation both to herself and to the whole human race,¹ as Eve by her disobedience induced the apostasy and death of mankind;—a fruitful parallel, which was afterwards frequently pushed too far, and turned, no doubt, contrary to its original sense, to favor the idolatrous worship of the blessed Virgin. Irenaeus seems² to conceive the incarnation as progressive, the two factors reaching absolute communion (but neither absorbing the other) in the ascension; though before this, at every stage of life, Christ was a perfect man, presenting the model of every age.

Origen, the author of the term "God-man," was also the first to employ the figure, since become so classical, of an iron warmed through by fire, to illustrate the pervasion of the human nature (primarily the soul) by the divine in the person of Christ.

§ 80. *The Holy Ghost.*

KAHNIS: Die Lehre vom heil. Geiste. Halle 1847. (Pt. I. p. 149—356. Incomplete.) The doctrine of Justin is treated with exhaustive thoroughness by SEMISCH, in his monograph, II. 305—332.

¹ Et sibi et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis. (Adv. haer. III. 22, § 4).

² At least according to Dorner, Christology. I. 495

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost was far less developed, and until the middle of the fourth century was never a subject of special controversy. So in the Apostles' creed, only one article¹ is devoted to the third person of the holy Trinity, while the confession of the Son of God, in six or seven articles, forms the body of the symbol. Logical knowledge appears to be here still further removed than in Christology from the living substance of faith. This period was still in immediate contact with the fresh spiritual life of the apostolic, still witnessed the lingering operations of the extraordinary gifts, and experienced in full measure the regenerating, sanctifying, and comforting influences of the divine Spirit in life, suffering, and death; but, as to the theological definition of the nature and work of the Spirit, it remained in many respects confused and wavering down to the Nicene age.

Yet rationalistic historians go quite too far when, among other accusations, they charge the early church with making the Holy Ghost identical with the Logos. To confound the functions, as in attributing the inspiration of the prophets, for example, now to the Holy Ghost, now to the Logos, is by no means to confound the persons. On the contrary, the thorough investigations of recent times show plainly that the ante-Nicene fathers, with the exception of the Monarchians and perhaps Lactantius, agreed in the two fundamental points, that the Holy Ghost, the sole agent in the application of redemption, is a supernatural divine being, and that he is an independent person; thus closely allied to the Father and the Son, yet hypostatically different from them both. This was the practical conception, as demanded even by the formula of baptism. But instead of making the Holy Ghost strictly co-ordinate with the two other divine persons, as the Nicene doctrine does, it commonly left him subordinate to the Father and the Son.

So in Justin, the pioneer of scientific discovery in Pneumatology as well as in Christology. He refutes the heathen charge of atheism with the explanation, that the Christians worship the Creator of the universe, in the second place the Son,² in the third

¹ Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.

² E. *de sancto Spiritu*.

rank¹ the prophetic Spirit; placing the three divine hypostases in a descending gradation as objects of worship. In another passage, quite similar, he interposes the host of good angels between the Son and the Spirit, and thus favors the inference, that he regarded the Holy Ghost himself as akin to the angels, and therefore a created being.² But aside from the obscurity and ambiguity of the words relating to the angelic host,³ the co-ordination of the Holy Ghost with the angels is utterly precluded by many other expressions of Justin, in which he exalts the Spirit far above the sphere of all created being, and challenges for the members of the divine trinity a worship forbidden to angels. The leading function of the Holy Ghost, with him, as with the other apologists, is the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets.⁴ In general the Spirit conducted the Jewish theocracy, and qualified the theocratic officers. All his gifts concentrated themselves finally in Christ; and thence they pass to the faithful in the church. It is a striking fact, however, that Justin in only two passages refers the new moral life of the Christian to the Spirit; he commonly represents the Logos as its fountain. He lacks all insight into the distinction of the Old Testament Spirit and the New, and urges their identity in opposition to the Gnostics.

In Clement of Alexandria we find very little progress beyond this point. Yet he calls the Holy Ghost the third member of the sacred triad, and requires thanksgivings to be addressed to him as to the Son and the Father.⁵

¹ Ἐν ταύτῃ τάξει, Apol. I. 13.

² Apol. I. 6: Ὡκεῖνόν τε (i. e. Θεόν), καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ἐλθόν-α καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν.

³ The questions arise, for example, whether ἀγγελος here is not to be taken in the wider sense, in which Justin often uses it, and even applies it to Christ, and whether στρατὸν depends on σεβάμεθα, and not rather on διδίδαντες, so as to be co-ordinate with ἡμᾶς, or with ταῦτα, and not with Υἱὸν and Πνεῦμα.

⁴ Hence the frequent designation, τὸ Πνεῦμα προφητικόν, together with the other Πνεῦμα ἅγιον; and hence also even in the Symb. Nic. Constantin. the definition Πνεῦμα . . . τὸ ἑκείνων δὲ τῶν προφητῶν.

⁵ Paed. III. p. 311: Ἐνχαριστοῦμεν αὐτὸν τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ—σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

Origen vacillates in his Pneumatology still more than in his Christology between orthodox and heterodox views. He ascribes to the Holy Ghost eternal existence, exalts him, as he does the Son, far above all creatures, and considers him the source of all charisms,¹ especially as the principle of all the illumination and holiness of believers under the Old Covenant and the New. But he places the Spirit in essence, dignity, and efficiency below the Son, as far as he places the Son below the Father; and though he grants in one passage² that the Bible nowhere calls the Holy Ghost a creature, yet, according to another somewhat obscure sentence, he himself inclines towards the view, which, however, he does not avow, that the Holy Ghost had a beginning (though, according to his system, not in time but from eternity), and is the first and most excellent of all the beings produced by the Logos.³ In the same connexion he adduces three opinions concerning the Holy Ghost; one, regarding him as not having an origin; another, ascribing to him no separate personality; and a third, making him a being originated by the Logos. The first of these opinions he rejects because the Father alone is without origin (*ἀγέννητος*); the second he rejects because in Matt. xii. 32 the Spirit is plainly distinguished from the Father and the Son; the third he takes for the true and scriptural view, because every thing was made by the Logos.⁴ Indeed, according to Matt. xii. 32, the Holy Ghost would seem to stand above the Son; but the sin against the Holy Ghost is more heinous than that against the Son of Man, only because he who has received the Holy Ghost stands higher than he who has merely the reason from the Logos.

Here again Irenæus comes nearer than the Alexandrians to

¹ Not as *ἡλὴ τῶν χαρισμάτων*, as Neander and others represent it, but as *τὴν ἑλὴν τῶν χαρισμῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ*, as offering the substance and fulness of the spiritual gifts; therefore as the *ἀρχὴ* and *πηγὴ* of them. In Joh. II. § 6.

² De Princip. I. 3, 3.

³ In Joh. tom. II. § 6: *Τριώτερον*—this comparative, by the way, should be noticed as possibly saying more than the superlative, and perhaps designed to distinguish the Spirit from all creatures—*πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ Χοιστοῦ γεγεννημένων*.

⁴ According to John i. 3.

the dogma of the perfect substantial identity of the Spirit with the Father and the Son; though his repeated figurative (but for this reason not so definite) designation of the Son and Spirit as the "hands" of the Father, by which he made all things, implies a certain subordination. He differs from most of the fathers in referring the Wisdom of the book of Proverbs not to the Logos but to the Spirit; and hence must regard him as eternal. Yet he was far from conceiving the Spirit as a mere power or attribute; he considered him an independent personality, like the Logos. "With God," says he,¹ "are ever the Word and the Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit, through whom and in whom he freely made all things, to whom he said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.'" But he speaks more of the operations than of the nature of the Holy Ghost. The Spirit predicted in the prophets the coming of Christ; has been near to man in all divine ordinances; communicates the knowledge of the Father and the Son; gives believers the consciousness of sonship; is fellowship with Christ, the pledge of imperishable life, and the ladder on which we ascend to God.

In the Montanistic system the Paraclete occupies a peculiarly important place. He appears there as the principle of the highest stage of revelation, or of the church of the consummation. Tertullian made the Holy Spirit the proper essence of the church, but subordinated him to the Son as he did the Son to the Father though elsewhere he asserts the "unitas substantiae." In his view the Spirit proceeds "a Patre per Filium," as the fruit from the root through the stem. The view of the Trinity presented by Sabellius contributed to the suppression of these subordination ideas.

§ 81. *The Holy Trinity.*

Comp. the works quoted, § 78-80.

Here now we have the elements of the dogma of the Trinity that is, the doctrine of the living, only true God, Father, Son,

¹ Adv. haer. IV. 20, § 1.

and Spirit, of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things. This dogma has a peculiar, comprehensive, and definitive import in the Christian system, as a brief summary of all the truths and blessings of revealed religion. Hence the baptismal formula in Matt. xxviii. 19, which forms the basis of all the ancient creeds, is trinitarian; as is the apostolic benediction also, in 2 Cor. xiii. 14. This doctrine meets us in the Scriptures, however, not so much in direct statements and single expressions, of which the two just mentioned are the clearest, as in great living facts; in the history of a threefold revelation of the living God in the creation and government, the reconciliation and redemption, and the sanctification and consummation of the world—a history continued in the experience of Christendom. In the article of the Trinity the Christian conception of God completely defines itself, in distinction alike from the abstract monotheism of the Jewish religion, and from the polytheism and dualism of the heathen. It has accordingly been looked upon in all ages as the sacred symbol and the fundamental doctrine of the Christian church. with the denial of which the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and the divine character of the work of redemption and sanctification, fall to the ground.

On this scriptural basis the church dogma of the Trinity arose; and it directly or indirectly ruled even the ante-Nicene theology, though it did not attain its fixed definition till in the Nicene age. It is primarily of a practically religious nature, and speculative only in a secondary sense. It arose not from the field of metaphysics, but from that of experience and worship; and not as an abstract, isolated dogma, but in inseparable connexion with the study of Christ and of the Holy Ghost; especially in connexion with Christology, since all theology proceeds from "God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." Under the condition of monotheism, this doctrine followed of necessity from the doctrine of the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost. The unity of God was already immovably fixed by the Old Testament as a fundamental article of revealed religion in opposition to all forms of idolatry. But the New Testament and the Christian con-

sciousness as firmly demanded faith in the divinity of the Son, who effected redemption, and of the Holy Ghost, who founded the church and dwells in believers; and these apparently contradictory interests could be reconciled only in the form of the Trinity;¹ that is, by distinguishing in the one and indivisible essence of God² three hypostases or persons;³ at the same time allowing for the insufficiency of all human conceptions and words to describe such an unfathomable mystery.

The Socinian and rationalistic opinion, that the church doctrine of the Trinity sprang from Platonism⁴ and Neo Platonism⁵ is therefore radically false. The Indian Trimurti, altogether pantheistic in spirit, is still further from the Christian Trinity. Only thus much is true, that the Hellenic philosophy operated from without, as a stimulating force, upon the form of the whole patristic theology, the doctrines of the Logos and the Trinity among the rest; and that the deeper minds of heathen antiquity discovered a presentiment of a threefold distinction in the divine essence; but only a remote and vague presentiment which, like all the deeper instincts of the heathen mind, serves to strengthen the Christian truth. Far clearer and more fruitful suggestions presented themselves in the Old Testament, particularly in the doctrines of the Messiah, of the Spirit, of the Word, and of the Wisdom of God, and even in the system of symbolical numbers, which rests on the sacredness of the numbers three (God), four (the world), seven and twelve (the union of God and the world, hence the covenant number). But the mystery of the Trinity could be fully revealed only in the New Testament after the completion of the work of redemption and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost.

¹ Τριάς, first in Theophilus; trinitas, first in Tertullian; from the fourth century more distinctly μονοτριᾶς, μονὰς ἐν τριάδι, triunitas.

² Οὐσία, φύσις, substantia; sometimes also, inaccurately, ὑπόστασις.

³ Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, τρία πρόσωπα, personae.

⁴ Comp. Plato, Ep. 2 and 6, which, however, are spurious or doubtful. Legg. IV 185: Ὁ θεὸς ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων.

⁵ Plotinus in Enn. V. 1, and Porphyry in Cyril. Alex. c. Jul., who, however, were already unconsciously affected by Christian ideas, speak of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, but in a sense altogether different from that of the church

Again, it was primarily the economic or transitive trinity, which the church had in mind; that is, the trinity of the revelation of God in the threefold work of creation, redemption, and sanctification; the trinity presented in the apostolic writings as a living fact. But from this, in agreement with both reason and Scripture, the immanent or ontologic trinity was inferred; that is, an eternal distinction in the essence of God itself, which reflects itself in his revelation, and can be understood only so far as it manifests itself in his works and words. The divine nature thus came to be conceived, not as an abstract, blank unity, but as an infinite fulness of life; and the Christian idea of God (as John of Damascus has remarked) in this respect combined Jewish monotheism with the truth, which lay at the bottom of even the heathen polytheism, though distorted and defaced there beyond recognition.

Then for the more definite illustration of this trinity of essence, speculative church teachers of subsequent times appealed to all sorts of analogies in nature, particularly in the sphere of the finite mind, which was made after the image of the divine, and thus to a certain extent authorizes such a parallel. They found a sort of triad in the universal law of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; in the elements of the syllogism; in the three persons of grammar; in the combination of body, soul, and spirit in man; in the three leading faculties of the soul; in the nature of intelligence and knowledge as involving a union of the thinking subject and the thought object; and in the nature of love, as likewise a union between the loving and the loved.¹ These speculations began with Origen and Tertullian; they were pursued by Athanasius, Augustine, and by the scholastics and the mystics; and they are not yet exhausted. For the holy Trinity, though the most evident, is yet the deepest of mysteries, and can be adequately explained by no analogies from finite and earthly things.

As the doctrines of the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost were but imperfectly developed in logical precision in the

¹ "Ubi amor, ibi trinitas," says St. Augustine.

ante-Nicene period, the doctrine of the Trinity, founded on them, cannot be expected to be more clear. We find it first in the most simple biblical and practical shape in all the creeds of the first three centuries; which, like the Apostles' and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan, are based on the baptismal formula, and hence arranged in trinitarian form. Then it appears in the trinitarian doxologies used in the church from the first; such as occur even in the epistle of the church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp.¹ The sentiment, that we rise through the Holy Ghost to the Son, through the Son to the Father, belongs likewise to the age of the immediate disciples of the apostles.² Thus far the influence of philosophy upon this doctrine is, of course, beyond supposition. It began with the apologists.

Justin Martyr repeatedly places Father, Son, and Spirit together as objects of divine worship among the Christians (though not as being altogether equal in dignity³), and imputes to Plato a presentiment of the doctrine of the Trinity. Athénagoras confesses his faith in Father, Son, and Spirit, who are one *κατὰ δύναμιν*, but whom he distinguishes as to *τάξεις*, in subordinationary style. Theophilus of Antioch is the first to denote the relation of the three divine persons⁴ by the term Triad.

Origen conceives the Trinity as three concentric circles, of which each succeeding one circumscribes a smaller area. God the Father acts upon all created being; the Logos only upon the rational creation; the Holy Ghost only upon the saints in the church. But the sanctifying work of the Spirit leads back to the Son, and the Son to the Father, who is consequently the ground and end of all being, and stands highest in dignity as the compass of his operation is the largest.

Irenaeus goes no further than the baptismal formula and the

¹ C. 14, where Polycarp concludes his prayer on the scaffold with the words, *Μεθ' οὗ* (i. e. Christ) *πατρί* (i. e. the Father) *καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἢ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας*. Comp. at the end of c. 22: *Ὁ κύριος Ἰησ. Χριστὸς . . . ᾧ ἡ δόξα, σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*.

² In Irenaeus: Adv. haer. V. 36, 2.

³ Comp. § 80 p. 278 sq.

⁴ *Θεός, Λόγος, and Σοφία*. By *Σοφία*, like Irenaeus, he means the Holy Ghost.

trinity of revelation; proceeding on the hypothesis of three successive stages in the development of the kingdom of God on earth, and of a progressive communication of God to the world. He also represents the relation of the persons according to Eph. iv. 6; the Father as above all, and the head of Christ; the Son as through all, and the head of the church; the Spirit as in all, and the fountain of the water of life.¹ Of a supramundane trinity of essence he betrays but faint indications.

Tertullian advances a step. He supposes a distinction in God himself; and on the principle that the created image affords a key to the uncreated original, he illustrates the distinction in the divine nature by the analogy of human thought; the necessity of a self-projection, or a making one's self objective in word, for which he borrows from the Valentinians the term *προβολή*, or *prolatio rei alterius ex altera*,² but without connecting with it the sensuous emanation theory of the Gnostics. Otherwise he stands, as already observed, on subordinationian ground, if his comparisons of the trinitarian relation to that of root, stem, and fruit, or fountain, flow, and brook, or sun, ray, and raypoint, be dogmatically pressed.³ Yet he directly asserts also the essential unity of the three persons.⁴ Tertullian was followed by the schismatic but orthodox Novatian, the author of a special treatise *De Trinitate*, drawn from the Creed, and fortified with Scripture proofs against the two classes of Monarchians.

The Roman bishop Dionysius (A. D. 262) stood nearest the Nicene doctrine. He maintained distinctly, in the controversy with Dionysius of Alexandria, at once the unity of essence and

¹ V. 18, 2.

² Adv. Praxean, c. 8.

³ Tertius—says he, Adv. Prax. c. 8—est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine, et tertius a sole apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita trinitas (here this word appears for the first time, comp. c. 2: *Oikonomia* quae unitatem in trinitatem disponit) per consertos (al. consortes) et connexos gradus a Patre decurrens et monarchiae nihil obstrepit et *oikonomias* statum protegit.

⁴ C. 2: Tres autem non statu, sed gradu, nec substantia, sed forma, nec potestate, sed specie, unius autem substantiae, et unius status, et unius potestatis, quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formae et species, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur.

the real personal distinction of the three members of the divine triad, and avoided tritheism, Sabellianism, and subordinatianism with the instinct of orthodoxy, and also with the art of anathe-matizing already familiar to the popes. His view has come down to us in a fragment in Athanasius, where it is said: "Then I must declare against those who annihilate the most sacred doctrine of the church by dividing and dissolving the unity of God into three powers, separate hypostases, and three deities. This notion (some tritheistic view, not further known to us) is just the opposite of the opinion of Sabellius. For while the latter would introduce the impious doctrine, that the Son is the same as the Father, and the converse, the former teach in some sense three Gods, by dividing the sacred unity into three fully separate hypostases. But the divine Logos must be inseparably united with the God of all, and in God also the Holy Ghost must dwell so that the divine triad must be comprehended in one, viz. the all-ruling God, as in a head."¹ Then he condemns the doctrine, that the Son is a creature, as "the height of blasphemy," and concludes: "The divine adorable unity must not be thus cut up into three deities; no more may the transcendent dignity and greatness of the Lord be lowered by saying, the Son is created; but we must believe in God the almighty Father, and in Jesus Christ, his Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and must consider the Logos inseparably united with the God of all; for he says, I and my Father are one; and I am in the Father and the Father in me. In this way are both the divine triad and the sacred doctrine of the unity of the Godhead preserved inviolate."

§ 82. *Antitrinitarians. First Class.*

Besides the works cited at § 78, comp. SCHLEIERMACHER: Ueber den Gegensatz der sabellianischen u. athanasianischen Vorstellung von der Trinität. Berl. 1822 (Works, at Theol. Vol. II.). LOBEG. LANGE: Geschichte u. Lehrbegriff der Unitarier vor der nicänischen Synode. Leipz. 1831.

That this goal was at last happily reached, was in great part

¹ Τὴν θεῖαν τριᾶδα εἰς ἓνα ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τινα (τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ὅλου, τοῦ παντοκράτορα λέγω) συγκεφαλαιοῦσθαι τε καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. Athan: De decr. Syn. Nic. 26 (Routh, Reliqu. iii. p. 384, ed. alt.).

due again to those controversies with the opponents of the church doctrine of the Trinity, which filled the whole third century. These Antitrinitarians are commonly called Monarchians or Unitarians on account of the stress they laid upon the unity, *μοναρχία*, of God. But we must carefully distinguish among them two opposite classes: the rationalistic or dynamic Monarchians, who denied the divinity of Christ, or explained it as a mere power;¹ and the patripassian Monarchians, who identified the Son with the Father, and admitted at most only a modal trinity, a threefold mode of revelation. The first form of this heresy, involved in the abstract Jewish monotheism, deistically sundered the divine and the human, and rose little above Ebionism. The second proceeded, at least in part, from pantheistic preconceptions, and approached the ground of Gnostic docetism. The one prejudiced the dignity of the Son, the other the dignity of the Father; yet the latter was by far the more profound and Christian, and accordingly met with the greater acceptance.

The Monarchians of the first class saw in Christ a mere man, filled with divine power; but conceived this divine power as operative in him, not from the baptism only, according to the Ebionite view, but from the beginning; and admitted his supernatural generation by the Holy Ghost. To this class belong:

1. The ALOGIANS;² a heretical sect in Asia Minor about A. D. 170, of which very little is known. Epiphanius gave them this name because in the Monarchian interest they rejected the Logos doctrine and the Logos Gospel. In opposition to Montanism they likewise rejected Chiliasm and the Apocalypse. They attributed the writings of John to the Gnostic, Cerinthus.

2. The THEODOTIANS; so called from their founder, the tanner THEODOTUS. He sprang from Byzantium; denied Christ in a persecution, with the apology that he only denied a man; but still held him to be the supernaturally begotten Messiah. He gained followers in Rome, but was excommunicated by the bishop Victor (192-202). After his death his sect chose the

¹ *ἄλογος*.

² From *ἄ* and *λόγος*, unreasonable and opponents of the Logos.

confessor Natalis bishop, who is said to have afterwards penitently returned into the bosom of the Catholic church. A younger Theodotus, the "money-changer," put Melchizedek as mediator between God and the angels, above Christ, the mediator between God and men; and his followers were called Melchizedekians.

3. The ARTEMONITES, or adherents of ARTEMON, who came out somewhat later at Rome with a similar opinion, declared the doctrine of the divinity of Christ an innovation and a relapse to heathen polytheism; and was excommunicated by Zephyrinus (202-217). The Artemonites were charged with placing Euclid and Aristotle above Christ, and esteeming mathematics and dialectics higher than the gospel. This indicates a critical intellectual turn, averse to mystery, and shows that Aristotle was employed by some against the divinity of Christ, as Plato was engaged for it. Their assertion, that the true doctrine was obscured in the Roman church only from the time of Zephyrinus¹ is explained by the fact brought to light recently through the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus, that Zephyrinus (and perhaps his predecessor Victor), against the vehement opposition of a portion of the Roman church, favored Patripassianism, and probably in behalf of this doctrine condemned the Artemonites.

4. PAUL OF SAMOSATA, from 260 bishop of Antioch, and at the same time a civil officer,² denied the personality of the Logos and of the Holy Ghost, and considered them merely powers of God, like reason and mind in man; but granted that the Logos dwelt in Christ in larger measure than in any former messenger of God, and taught, like the Socinians in later times, a gradual elevation of Christ, determined by his own moral development, to divine dignity.³ To introduce his Christology into the mind of the people, he undertook to alter the church hymns, but was shrewd enough to accommodate himself to the orthodox formulas, calling Christ, for example, "God of the Virgin,"⁴ and ascribing to him even homoousia with the Father, but of course in his own sense.

¹ Euseb. V. 28.

³ Ἀ θεοποίησις ἐκ προκοπῆς.

² Ducenarius procurator.

⁴ Θεὸς ἐκ παρθένου.

The bishops under him in Syria accused him not only of heresy but also of extreme vanity, arrogance, pompousness, avarice, and undue concern with secular business; and at a council in 269 they pronounced his deposition. But as he was favored by the queen Zenobia of Palmyra, the deposition could not be executed till after her subjection by the emperor Aurelius in 272, and after consultation with the Italian bishops. His overthrow decided the fall of the Monarchians; though they still appear at the end of the fourth century as condemned heretics, under the name of Samosatenians, Paulianists, and Sabellians.

§ 83. *Second Class of Antitrinitarians.*

The second class of Monarchians, called by Tertullian Patripassians (as afterwards a branch of the Monophysites was called Theopaschites), together with their unitarian zeal, felt the deeper Christian impulse to hold fast the divinity of Christ; but they sacrificed to it his independent personality, which they merged in the essence of the Father.

1. The first prominent advocate of the Patripassian heresy was PRAXEAS of Asia Minor. He came to Rome under Marcus Aurelius with the renown of a confessor; procured there the condemnation of Montanism; and propounded his Patripassianism, to which he gained even the bishop Victor. But Tertullian met him in vindication at once of Montanism and of hypostasianism with crushing logic, and charged him with having executed at Rome two commissions of the devil: having driven away the Holy Ghost, and having crucified the Father.¹ According to Tertullian, Praxeas, constantly appealing to Is. xlv. 5; Jno. x. 30 ("I and my Father are one"), and xiv. 9 sq. ("He that hath seen me hath seen the Father"), as if the whole Bible consisted of these three passages, taught that the Father himself became man, hungered, thirsted, suffered, and died in Christ. True, he would not be understood as speaking directly of a suf-

¹ "Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit."

fering (pati) of the Father, but only of a sympathy (copati) of the Father with the Son; but in any case he lost the independent personality of the Son. He conceived the relation of the Father to the Son as like that of the spirit to the flesh. The same subject, as spirit, is the Father; as flesh, the Son. He thought the Catholic doctrine tritheistic.

2. NOËTUS of Smyrna published the same view about A.D. 200, appealing also to Rom. ix. 5, where Christ is called the one God over all. When censured by a council he argued in vindication of himself, that his doctrine enhanced the glory of Christ.¹ The author of the *Philosophoumena* places him in connexion with the pantheistic philosophy of Heraclitus, who, as we here for the first time learn, viewed nature as the harmony of all antitheses, and called the universe at once dissoluble and indissoluble, originated and unoriginated, mortal and immortal; and thus Noëtus supposed that the same divine subject must be able to combine opposite attributes in itself.

3. CALLISTUS (pope Calixtus I.) adopted and advocated the doctrine of Noëtus, which Epigonus and Cleomenes, disciples of Noëtus,² propagated in Rome under favor of pope Zephyrinus. He declared the Son merely the manifestation of the Father in human form; the Father animating the Son, as the spirit animates the body,³ and suffering with him on the cross. "The Father," says he, "who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it with himself and made it one. Father and Son were therefore the name of the one God, and this one person⁴ cannot be two; thus the Father suffered with the Son." He considered his opponents "ditheists,"⁵ and they in return called his followers "Callistians."

These and other disclosures respecting the church at Rome during the first quarter of the third century, we owe, as already observed, to the ninth book of the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus, who was, however, it must be remembered, the leading

¹ Τί οὖν κακὸν τούτου, he asked, δοξάζων τὸν Χριστόν;

² Not his teachers, as was supposed by former historians, including Neander.

³ Jno. xiv. 11.

⁴ Πρόσωπον.

⁵ Διθεῖστοι.

opponent and rival of Callistus, and in his own doctrine of the Trinity inclined to the opposite subordinationian extreme. He calls Callistus, evidently with passion, an "unreasonable and treacherous man, who brought together blasphemies from above and below, only to speak against the truth, and was not ashamed to fall now into the error of Sabellius, now into that of Theodotus" (of which latter, however, he shows no trace). After the death of Callistus, who occupied the papal chair between 218 and 223 or 224, Patripassianism disappeared from the Roman church.

4. BERYLLUS of Bostra, in Arabia. From him we have only a somewhat obscure and very variously interpreted passage preserved in Eusebius.¹ He denied the personal pre-existence² and in general the independent divinity³ of Christ, but at the same time asserted the indwelling of the divinity of the Father⁴ in him during his earthly life. He forms, in some sense, the stepping-stone from simple Patripassianism to Sabellian modalism. At an Arabian synod in 244, where the presbyter Origen, then himself accused of heresy, was called into consultation, Beryllus was convinced of his error by that great teacher, and was persuaded particularly of the existence of a human soul in Christ, in place of which he had probably put his *πατρική θεότης*, as Apollinaris in a later period put the *λόγος*. He is said to have thanked Origen afterwards for his instruction. Here we have one of the very few theological disputations which have resulted in unity instead of greater division.

5. SABELLIUS, we learn from the *Philosophoumena*, spent some time in Rome in the beginning of the third century, and was first gained by Callistus to Patripassianism, but when the latter became bishop, about 220, he was excommunicated.⁵ Afterwards we find him presbyter of Ptolemais in Egypt. There his heresy, meantime modified, found so much favor, that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, excommunicated him at a council in

¹ H. E. VI. 33.

² *ὅτι αὐτὸς περιγεγραπὸν*, i. e. a circumscribed, limited, separate existence.

³ *ὅτι θεότης*.

⁴ *ὅτι πατρική θεότης*.

⁵ Or was this possibly another Sabellius?

that city in 261, and, in vehement opposition to him, declared in almost Arian terms for the hypostatical independence and subordination of the Son in relation to the Father. This led the Sabellians to complain of that bishop to Dionysius of Rome, who held a council in 262, and in a special treatise controverted Sabellianism, as well as subordinatianism and tritheism, with nice orthodox tact.¹ The bishop of Alexandria very cheerfully yielded, and retracted his assertion of the creaturely inferiority of the Son in favor of the orthodox ὁμοούσιος. Thus the strife was for a while allayed, to be renewed with still greater violence by Arius half a century later.

Sabellius is by far the most original, ingenious, and profound of the Monarchians. His system is known to us only from a few fragments, and some of these not altogether consistent, in Athanasius and other fathers. It was very fully developed, and has been revived in modern times by Schleiermacher in a peculiarly modified form.

While the other Monarchians confine their inquiry to the relation of Father and Son, Sabellius embraces the Holy Ghost in his speculation, and reaches a trinity, not a simultaneous trinity of essence, however, but only a successive trinity of revelation. He starts from a distinction of the monad and the triad in the divine nature. His fundamental thought is, that the unity of God, without distinction in itself, unfolds or extends itself² in the course of the world's development in three different forms and periods of revelation,³ and, after the completion of redemption, returns into unity. The Father reveals himself in the giving of the law or the Old Testament economy (not in the creation also; this in his view precedes the trinitarian revelation); the Son, in the incarnation; the Holy Ghost, in inspiration. He illustrates the trinitarian relation by comparing the Father to the disc of the sun, the Son to its enlightening power, the Spirit to its warming influence. He is said also to have

¹ Comp. the close of § 81 above.

² Ἡ μονὰς πλατυθεῖσα γίγνεται τριάς.

³ Ὁράματα, πρόσωπα,—not in the orthodox sense of the τέτρα, however, but in the primary sense of mask, or part (in a play).

likened the Father to the body, the Son to the soul, the Holy Ghost to the spirit of man; but this is unworthy of his evident speculative discrimination. His view of the Logos,¹ too, is peculiar. The Logos is not identical with the Son, but is the monad itself in its transition to triad; that is, God conceived as vital motion and creating principle, the speaking God,² in distinction from the silent God.³ Each *πρόσωπον* is another *διαλέγεσθαι*, and the three *πρόσωπα* together are only successive evolutions of the Logos or the worldward aspect of the divine nature. As the Logos proceeded from God, so he returns at last into him, and the process of trinitarian development⁴ closes.

Athanasius traced the doctrine of Sabellius to the Stoic philosophy. The common element is the pantheistic leading view of an expansion and contraction⁵ of the divine nature immanent in the world. In the Pythagorean system also, in the Gospel of the Egyptians, and in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, there are kindred ideas. But the originality of Sabellius cannot be brought into question by these. His theory broke the way for the Nicene church doctrine, by its full co-ordination of the three persons. He differs from the orthodox standard mainly in denying the trinity of essence and the permanence of the trinity of manifestation; making Father, Son, and Holy Ghost only temporary phenomena, which fulfil their mission and return into the abstract monad.

§ 84. *Redemption.*

CORTA: *Histor. doctrinæ de redemptione sanguine J. Chr. facta* (in Gerhard: *Loci theol.*, vol. iv. p. 105-134). ZIEGLER: *Hist. dogmatis de redemptione*. Gott. 1791 (rationalistic). K. BAEHR: *Die Lehre der Kirche vom Tode Jesu in den drei ersten Jahrh.*, Sulzb. 1832 (against the orthodox doctrine of the *satisfactio vicaria*). F. C. BAUR: *Die christl. Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtl. Entw. von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die neueste*. Tüb. 1838 (p. 23-67; very learned and speculative but resulting in Hegelian pantheism). L. DUNCKER: *Des heil. Irenæus*

¹ Which has been for the first time duly brought out by Dr. Baur.

² Θεὸς λαλῶν

³ Θεὸς σιωπῶν.

⁴ Διαλέξις

⁵ Ἐκτασις, ὁρμητικὴ, and ἀναστροφή.

Christologie. Gött. 1843 (p. 217 sqq.; purely objective). BAUMGARTEN
CRUSIUS: Compendium der christl. Dogmengeschichte. Leipz. 2d Part.
1846, § 95 sqq. (p. 257 sqq.)

The work of the triune God, in his self-revelation, is the salvation, or redemption and reconciliation of the world: negatively, the emancipation of humanity from the guilt and power of sin and death; positively, the communication of the righteousness and life of fellowship with God. First, the discord between the Creator and the creature must be adjusted; and then man can be carried onward to his destined perfection. Reconciliation with God is the ultimate aim of every religion. In heathenism it was only darkly guessed and felt after, and anticipated in perverted, fleshly forms. In Judaism it was divinely promised, typically foreshadowed, and historically prepared. In Christianity it is revealed in objective reality, according to the eternal counsel of the love and wisdom of God, through the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and is being continually applied subjectively to individuals in the church by the Holy Ghost, through the means of grace, on condition of repentance and faith. Christ is, exclusively and absolutely, the Saviour of the world, and the Mediator between God and man.

The apostolic scriptures, in the fulness of their inspiration, everywhere bear witness of this salvation wrought through Christ, as a living fact of experience. But it required time for the profound ideas of a Paul and a John to come up clearly to the view of the church; indeed, to this day they remain unfathomed. Here again experience anticipated theology. The church lived from the first on the atoning sacrifice of Christ. The cross ruled all Christian thought and conduct, and fed the spirit of martyrdom. But the primitive church teachers lived more in the thankful enjoyment of redemption, than in logical reflection upon it. We perceive in their exhibitions of this blessed mystery the language rather of enthusiastic feeling, than of careful definition and acute analysis. Moreover, this doctrine was never, like Christology and the doctrine of the Trinity, a subject of special controversy within the ancient church. The

œcumenical symbols touch it only in general terms. The Apostles' Creed presents it in the article on the forgiveness of sins on the ground of the divine-human life and passion of Christ. The Nicene Creed says, a little more definitely, that Christ became man for our salvation,¹ and died for us, and rose again.

Nevertheless, all the essential elements of the later church doctrine of redemption may be found, either expressed or implied, before the close of the second century. The negative part of the doctrine, the subjection of the devil, the prince of the kingdom of sin and death, was naturally most dwelt on in the patristic period, on account of the existing conflict of Christianity with heathenism, which was regarded as wholly ruled by Satan and demons. Even in the New Testament, particularly in Col. ii. 15, Heb. ii. 14, and 1 John iii. 8, the victory over the devil is made an integral part of the work of Christ. But this view was carried out in the early church in a very peculiar and, to some extent, mythical way; and in this form continued current, until the satisfaction theory of Anselm gave a new turn to the development of the dogma. The victory over Satan was conceived now as a legal ransom of man from him by the payment of a stipulated price, to wit, the death of Christ; now as a cheat upon him,² either intentional and deserved, or due to his own infatuation.

The theological development of the doctrine of the work of Christ began with the struggle against Jewish and heathen influences, and at the same time with the development of the doctrine of the person of Christ, which is inseparable from that of his work, and indeed fundamental to it. Ebionism, with its deistic and legal spirit, could not raise its view above the prophetic office of Christ to the priestly and the kingly, but saw in him only a new teacher and legislator. Gnosticism, from the naturalistic and pantheistic position of heathendom, looked upon redemption as a physical and intellectual process, liberating the spirit from the bonds of matter, the supposed principle of evil; reduced the human life

¹ *Διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν.*

² 1 Cor. ii. 8, misapprehended.

and passion of Christ to a vain show; and could ascribe at best only a symbolical virtue to his death. For this reason even Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, in their opposition to docetism, insist so earnestly on the reality of the humanity and death of Jesus as the source of our reconciliation with God.¹

In Justin Martyr and the Epistle to Diognetus appear traces of the doctrine of satisfaction, though in very indefinite terms.

Irenaeus is the first of all the church teachers to give a careful analysis of the work of redemption, and his view is by far the deepest and soundest we find in the first three centuries. Christ, he teaches, as the second Adam, repeated in himself the entire life of man, from birth to death and hades, from childhood to manhood, and as it were summed up that life and brought it under one head,² with the double purpose of restoring humanity from its fall and carrying it to perfection. Redemption comprises the taking away of sin by the perfect obedience of Christ; the destruction of death by victory over the devil; and the communication of a new divine life to man. To accomplish this work, the Redeemer must unite in himself the divine and human natures; for only as God could he do what man could not, and only as man could he do in a legitimate way, what man should. By the voluntary disobedience of Adam the devil gained a power over man, but in an unfair way, by fraud.³ By the voluntary obedience of Christ that power was wrested from him by lawful means.⁴ This took place first in the temptation, in which Christ renewed or recapitulated the struggle of Adam with Satan, but defeated the seducer, and thereby liberated man from his thralldom. But then the whole life of Christ was a continuous victorious conflict with Satan, and a constant obedience to God. This obedience completed itself in the suffering and death on the tree of the cross, and thus blotted out the disobedience which the first Adam had committed on the tree of know-

¹ Comp. § 79.

² This, as already intimated in a former connexion, is the sense of his frequent expression: *Ἀνακεφαλαιῶν, ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις, recapitulare, recapitulatio.*

³ Dissuasio.

⁴ By *suadela*, persuasion, announcement of truth, not overreaching or deception.

ledge. This, however, is only the negative side. To this is added, as already remarked, the communication of a new divine principle of life, and the perfecting of the idea of humanity first effected by Christ.

Origen differs from Irenaeus in considering man, in consequence of sin, the lawful property of Satan, and in representing the victory over Satan as an outwitting of the enemy, who had no claim to the sinless soul of Jesus, and therefore could not keep it in death. The ransom was paid, not to God, but to Satan, who thereby lost his right in man. Here Origen touches on mythical Gnosticism. He contemplates the death of Christ, however, from other points of view also, as an atoning sacrifice of love offered to God for the sins of the world; as the highest proof of perfect obedience to God; and as an example of patience. He singularly extends the virtue of this redemption to the whole spirit world, to fallen angels as well as men, in connexion with his hypothesis of a final restoration. The only one of the fathers who accompanies him in this is Gregory of Nyssa.

The doctrine of the subjective appropriation of salvation, the doctrine of faith, justification, and sanctification, was as yet far less perfectly formed than the objective dogma; and in the nature of the case, must follow the latter. If any one expects to find in this period, or in any of the church fathers, Augustine himself not excepted, the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone as the "*articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae*," he will be greatly disappointed. The incarnation of the Logos, his true divinity and true humanity, stand most unmistakably in the foreground, as the fundamental dogma. Paul's doctrine of justification, except perhaps in Clement of Rome, who joins it with the doctrine of James, is left very much out of view, and awaits the age of the reformation to be more thoroughly established and understood. The fathers lay chief stress on sanctification and good works, and show the already existing germs of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the meritoriousness and even the supererogatory meritoriousness of Christian virtue.

The doctrine of the church, as the communion of grace, we

shall better consider in the section on the constitution of the church;¹ the doctrine of the sacraments, as the objective means of appropriating grace, in connexion with worship.²

§ 85. *Chiliasm.*

- I. BARNABAS: Epist. c. 15. PAPIAS, in Euseb. III. 39. JUST. MART.: Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. c. 80. IREN.: Adv. haer. V. 24–36. TERTULL.: De resurr. carn. 25; Adv. Marc. III. 24, IV. 29. CAIUS, in Euseb. III. 28. ORIG.: De princ. II. 11.
- II. CORRODI: Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus. Zür. 1794. 4 vols (very unsatisfactory). MÜNSCHER: Lehre vom tausendjährigen Reich in den 3 ersten Jahrh. (in Henke's Magazine, VI. 2, p. 233 sqq.) SEMISCH: Chiliasmus (in Herzog's Encyclop. II. p. 657–671). D. T. TAYLOR: The Voice of the Church on the Coming and Kingdom of the Redeemer; a History of the Doctrine of the Reign of Christ on Earth. Revised by Hastings. 2nd ed. Peace Dale, R. I. 1855.

The most striking point in the eschatology of the ancient church is the widely current and very prominent chiliasm, or the doctrine of a visible reign of Christ in glory on earth with the risen saints for a thousand years. The Jewish hope of a Messianic kingdom, which rested on carnal misapprehension of the prophetic figures, was transplanted to the soil of Christianity but here spiritualized, and fixed on the second coming of Christ instead of the first; and this earthly sabbath of the church was no longer regarded as the goal of her course, but only as a prelude to the endless blessedness of heaven.³

The Christian chiliasm, if we leave out of sight the sensuous and fanatical extravagance, into which it has frequently run, both in ancient and in modern times, is based on the unfulfilled promises of the Lord,⁴ and particularly on the apocalyptic figure of his thousand years' reign upon earth after the first resurrection;⁵ in connexion with the numerous passages respecting his glorious return, which declare it to be near, and yet uncertain and unascertainable as to its day and hour that believers may

¹ See § 105 sqq., especially § 111.

² See §§ 102–104.

³ Rev. xx. 1 sqq., comp. with xxi. 1 sqq.

⁴ Matt. v. 4, xix. 29. Luke xiv. 12 sqq.

⁵ Rev. xx. 1–6.

be always ready for it.¹ This precious hope, through the whole age of persecution, was a copious fountain of encouragement and comfort under the pains of that martyrdom which sowed in blood the seed of a glorious harvest for the church.

Hence we find chiliasm not only among the heretical Jewish Christians and the Montanists, with whom it was a fundamental article of faith; but also, in a purified form, in a number of orthodox church teachers. Barnabas considers the Mosaic history of the creation a type of six ages of labor for the world, with a thousand years' sabbath of blessed rest; since with God "one day is as a thousand years."² Papias of Hierapolis appealed, in support of his somewhat quaint notions of the happiness of the millennial reign, to apostolic traditions; but the other apostolic fathers make no express mention of the subject. Justin Martyr regarded the expectation of the earthly perfection of the church as the keystone of pure doctrine, but knew orthodox Christians who did not share it; as, indeed, the other apologists are at least silent respecting it. Irenaeus, on the strength of tradition from St. John and his disciples, taught that after the destruction of the Roman empire, and the brief raging of antichrist, Christ will visibly appear, will bind Satan, will reign at the rebuilt city of Jerusalem with the little band of faithful confessors and the host of risen martyrs over the nations of the earth, and will celebrate the millennial sabbath of preparation for the eternal glory of heaven; then, after a temporary liberation of Satan, follows the final victory, the *general* resurrection, the judgment of the world, and the consummation in the new heavens and the new earth. Tertullian, in behalf of his chiliastic ideas, pointed not only to the Apocalypse, but also to the predictions of the Montanist prophets.

But Millenarianism became frequently, especially with the Montanists in Asia Minor, so colored in the grossly sensuous style of Judaism, that it provoked opposition, first in the Roman church and then in the Alexandrian school. The presbyter Caius, towards the end of the second century, in controversy

¹ Comp. Matt. xxiv. 33, 36. Mark xiii. 32. Acts i. 7. 1 Thess. v. 1, 2. 2 Pet iii. 10. Rev. i. 3; iii. 3.

² Ps. xc. 4.

with the Montanist Proclus, referred chiliasm, and perhaps even the Apocalypse of John, to the hated heretic Cerinthus; and Origen spiritualized the symbolical language of the Revelation. Yet even in Egypt chiliasm had many friends. In the West it maintained itself still longer, and found advocates in Commodian towards the close of the third century, and Lactantius and Victorinus in the beginning of the fourth.

In the age of Constantine, however, a radical change took place in this belief. After Christianity, contrary to all expectation, triumphed in the Roman empire, and was embraced by the Caesars themselves, the millennial reign, instead of being anxiously waited and prayed for, began to be dated either from the first appearance of Christ, or from the conversion of Constantine, and to be regarded as realized in the glory of the dominant imperial state-church. From that time chiliasm, not indeed in its essence, as the hope of a golden age of the church on earth, and of a great sabbath of the world after the hard labor of the world's history, but in its distorted Ebionistic form, took its place among the heresies, and was rejected subsequently even by the Protestant reformers as a Jewish dream.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE IN CONTRAST WITH PAGAN CORRUPTION.

- I. The works of the APOSTOLIC FATHERS. The Apologies of JUSTIN. The practical treatises of TERTULLIAN. The Epistles of CYPRIAN. The Decrees of Councils. The APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS and CANONS. The Acts of the Martyrs.
- II. G. ARNOLD: Erste Liebe, d. i. Wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen. Frankf. 1696, and often since. NEANDER: Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens (first 1823), vol. i. Hamb., 1845, 3d ed. The same in English by Ryland: Neander's Memorials of Christian Life, in Bohn's Library, 1853. COLEMAN: Ancient Christianity exemplified in the private, domestic, social, and civil Life of the Primitive Christians, &c. Phil. 1853. C. SCHMIDT: Essai historique sur la société dans le monde Romain, et sur la transformation par le Christianisme. Par. 1853. The same transl. into German by A. V. Richard. Leipz. 1857. CHASTEL: Études historiques sur l'influence de la charité durant les premiers siècles chrét. Par. 1853. The same transl. into English ("The Charity of the Primitive Churches"), by G. A. Matile. Phila. 1857. VILLEMMAIN: Nouveaux essais sur l'infl. du Christianisme dans le monde Grec et Latin. Par. 1853. Comp. also the works cited at § 58, above, on Christian martyrdom.

§ 86. *Moral Corruption in the Roman Empire.*

CHRISTIANITY is not only the revelation of truth, but also the fountain of holiness. It attests its divine origin as much by its moral workings as by its pure doctrines. By its own inherent energy, without noise and commotion, without the favor of circumstances, nay, in spite of all possible obstacles, it has gradually wrought the greatest and most beneficent moral reformation, we should rather say, regeneration, of society, which history has ever seen. To appreciate this work, we must first review the moral condition of heathenism in its mightiest embodiment in history.

When Christianity took firm foothold on earth, the pagan civilization and the Roman empire had reached their zenith. The reign of Augustus was the golden age of Roman literature; his successors added Britain and Dacia to the conquests of the Republic; internal organization was perfected by Trajan and the Antonines. The fairest countries of Europe, and a considerable part of Asia and Africa, then stood under one imperial government with republican forms, and enjoyed a well ordered jurisdiction. Military roads, canals, and the Mediterranean Sea facilitated commerce and travel; agriculture was improved, and all branches of industry flourished. Temples, theatres, aqueducts, public baths, and magnificent buildings of every kind adorned the great cities; institutions of learning disseminated culture; two languages with a classic literature were current in the empire, the Greek in the East, the Latin in the West; the book trade, with the manufacture of paper, was a craft of no small importance, and a library belonged to every respectable house. The excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum reveal a high degree of convenience and taste in domestic life; and no one can look at the sublime and eloquent ruins of Rome, above all the Colosseum built by Vespasian for more than eighty thousand spectators, without amazement at the energy and majesty of the old Roman empire.

But the age of the full bloom of the Graeco-Roman culture and empire was also the first period of its decline. This imposing show concealed incurable moral putridity and indescribable wretchedness. The most colossal piles owed their erection to the bloody sweat of innumerable slaves, who were treated no better than as many beasts of burden; on the above-named amphitheatre alone toiled twelve thousand Jewish prisoners of war. Even in the later times of the republic, and still more under the emperors, the influx of wealth from conquered nations diffused the most extravagant luxury, which collected for a single meal peacocks from Samos, pike from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, dates from Egypt, nuts from Spain, in short the rarest dishes from all parts of the world, and resorted to emetics

to stimulate appetite and to lighten the stomach. A special class of servants, the *cosmetes*, had charge of the dress, the smoothing of the wrinkles, the setting of the false teeth, the painting of the eye-brows, of wealthy patricians. Hand in hand with this luxury came the vices of natural and even unnatural sensuality, which decency refuses to name. Comfortless poverty stood in crying contrast with immeasurable wealth; exhausted provinces, with revelling cities. Enormous taxes burdened the people, and misery was terribly increased, especially in the second and third centuries, by all sorts of public misfortunes. The higher or ruling families were enervated, and were not strengthened or replenished by the lower. The free citizens lost all physical and moral vigor, and sank to an inert mass. The third class was the huge body of slaves, who performed almost all kinds of mechanical labor, even the tilling of the soil, and in times of danger were ready to join the enemies of the empire. A proper middle class, the only firm basis of a healthy community, there was not. The army, composed largely of the rudest citizens and of barbarians, was the heart of the nation, and gradually stamped the government with the character of an arbitrary military despotism. The virtues of patriotism, and of good faith in public intercourse, were extinct. The basest avarice, suspicion and envy, usuriousness and bribery, insolence and servility, everywhere prevailed.

The work of demoralizing the people was systematically organized and sanctioned from the highest places downwards. There were, it is true, some worthy emperors of old Roman energy and justice; among whom Titus, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius stand foremost. But the best they could do was to check the process of internal putrefaction and to conceal the sores for a little while; they could not heal them. Most of the emperors were coarse military despots, and some of them monsters of immorality. There are few periods in the history of the world, in which so many and so hideous vices have disgraced the throne, as in the period from Tiberius to Constantine. We are familiar with the dark misanthropy, the tiger-like

cruelty, and the wild voluptuousness of Tiberius ; the madness of Caligula, who had men sawed in pieces for his amusement, raised his horse to the dignity of consul and priest, and crawled under the bed in a storm ; the bottomless vileness and childish vanity of the arch-tyrant Nero, who practised unnatural vices with the most shocking shamelessness ; who in sheer wantonness set fire to Rome, and then burnt the innocent Christians for it as torches in his gardens ; who either poisoned with his own hand, or murdered by the hands of accomplices, his preceptors Burrhus and Seneca, his half-brother and brother-in-law Britannicus, his mother Agrippina, his wife Octavia, his mistress Poppaea ; and finally, supported by a servant, stabbed himself, exclaiming : “ What an artist dies in me ! ”—the swinish gluttony of Vitellius ; the dark suspicion, the refined wickedness, and the blasphemous pride of Domitian, who, more a cat than a tiger, amused himself most with the torments of the dying and with catching flies ; the bloodthirstiness and shameless revelry of Commodus with his hundreds of concubines ; the infernal villainy of the youth Heliogabalus, whose greatest delight was, to raise the lowest men to the highest dignities of the state, to dress himself in women’s clothes, to be called empress, to marry a dissolute boy like himself, in short to invert all the laws of nature and of decency, until at last he was butchered with his mother by the soldiers, and thrown into the muddy Tiber. And to fill the measure of impiety and wickedness, such imperial monsters, after Augustus, from whose ashes an eagle rose, and whose soul, as a senator testified on oath, had visibly ascended to heaven, were received after their death, by a formal decree of the senate, into the number of the gods, and their abandoned memory was celebrated by festivals, temples, and colleges of priests ! Domitian, even in his lifetime, caused himself to be called “ Dominus et Deus noster,” and whole herds of animals to be sacrificed to his gold and silver statues. Surely this was not only the height of adulation, but a public and official mockery of all morality and religion.

From the higher regions the corruption descended into the

masses of the people, who by this time had no sense for any thing but bread and public sports, "panem et circenses," and, in the enjoyment of these, looked with morbid curiosity and interest upon the most flagrant vices of their masters. The earnest Stoic, Seneca, hesitates not to say of this imperial age: "All is full of outrage and vice; a monstrous prize contest of wickedness is being enacted; the desire to sin increases, and shame decreases, every day. . . . Vice is no longer even practised secretly, but in open view. Vileness gains on all the streets and in every breast, so that innocence has become not only rare, but altogether extinct."

No wonder Tacitus, with the many cruelties before him, which he recounts with old Roman earnestness, in his immortal history, could nowhere, save perhaps among the barbarian Germans, discover a star of hope, and foreboded the fearful vengeance of the gods, and even the speedy destruction of the empire. And certainly nothing could save the empire from this final doom, whose approach was announced with ever growing distinctness by wars, insurrections, inundations, earthquakes, pestilence, famine, irruption of barbarians, and prophetic calamities of every kind.

The ancient world of classic heathenism, having arrived at the height of its glory, and at the threshold of its decay, had exhausted all the resources of human nature left to itself, and possessed no recuperative force, no regenerative principle. A regeneration of society could only proceed from religion. But the heathen religion had no restraint for vice, no comfort for the poor and oppressed; it was itself the muddy fountain of immorality. God, therefore, who in his infinite mercy desired not the destruction but the salvation of the race, opened in midst of this hopeless decay of a false religion a pure fountain of holiness, love, and peace, in the only true and universal religion of his Son Jesus Christ.

§ 87. *The Christian Morality in General.*

In this cheerless waste of pagan corruption the small and

despised band of Christians was an oasis fresh with life and hope. It was really the salt of the earth, and the light of the world. Poor in this world's goods, it bore in its bosom the imperishable treasures of the kingdom of heaven. Meek and lowly in heart, it was destined, according to the promise of the Lord, without a stroke of the sword, to inherit the earth. In submission it conquered; by suffering and death it won the crown of life.

To do full justice to this great subject we should have to enter into an analysis of the principles of Christian ethics in its immeasurable superiority over the heathen standard of morality even under its most favorable forms. But the historian is limited to the facts placed before him in the particular age of which he treats. The Christian life, moreover, reveals itself in its full power and extent only in the long process of successive ages and centuries. Yet it is present and makes itself felt at every stage, both in the individual and social sphere, reflecting in their concrete phenomena and facts more or less purely the general and eternal principles on which it is founded.

Christianity, indeed, does not come "with outward observation." Its deepest workings are silent and inward. The operations of divine grace in the regeneration, conversion, and sanctification of individuals, commonly shun the notice of the historian, and await their revelation on the great day of judgment, when all that is secret shall be made known. Who, for example, can measure the depth and breadth of all those pure and blessed experiences of forgiveness, peace, gratitude, trust in God, love for God and love for man, humility and meekness, patience and resignation, which have bloomed as vernal flowers on the soil of the renewed heart since the first Christian Pentecost? Who can tell the number and the fervor of the Christian prayers and intercessions, which have gone up unuttered from lonely chambers, caves, deserts, and martyrs' graves, in the silent night and the open day, for friends and enemies, for all classes of mankind, even for blood-thirsty persecutors, to the throne of the exalted Saviour? But where this Christian life has taken root in the depths of the soul it must show itself in the outward

conduct, and exert a sanctifying influence on every calling and sphere of action. The Christian morality surpassed all that the noblest philosophers of heathendom had ever taught or labored for as the highest aim of man. The masterly picture of it in the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus¹ is no mere fancy sketch, but a faithful copy from real life. When the apologists of the second and third centuries indignantly repel the calumnies of the enemies of the Christians, and with a confidence fearless of contradiction point to the unfeigned piety, the earnest reverence for God, the warm brotherly love, the self-denying love for enemies, the purity and chastity, the faithfulness and integrity, the patience and gentleness, of the confessors of the name of Jesus, we everywhere feel that they speak from daily experience and personal observation. "We, who once served lust," could Justin Martyr say without exaggeration, "now find our delight only in pure morals; we, who once followed sorcery, have now consecrated ourselves to the eternal good God; we, who once loved gain above all, now give up what we have for the common use, and share with every needy one; we, who once hated and killed each other; we, who would have no common hearth with foreigners for difference of customs, now, since the appearance of Christ, live with them, pray for our enemies, seek to convince those, who hate us without cause, that they may regulate their life according to the glorious teachings of Christ, and receive from the all-ruling God the same blessings with ourselves." Tertullian could boast, that he knew no Christians, who suffered by the hand of the executioner, except for their religion. Minutius Felix tells the heathens: "You prohibit adultery by law, and practise it in secret; you punish wickedness only in the overt act; we look upon it as criminal even in thought. You dread the inspection of others; we stand in awe of nothing but our own consciences as becomes Christians. And finally your prisons are overflowing with criminals; but they are all heathens, not a Christian is there, unless he be ar

¹ See § 46, p. 146 sq.

apostate." Even the heathen Pliny wrote to Trajan, that the Christians, whom he questioned by the rack respecting the character of their religion, bound themselves by an oath never to commit theft, robbery, nor adultery, nor to break their word, —and this, too, at a time, when the sins of fraud, uncleanness, and lasciviousness of every form, abounded all around. Another heathen, Lucian, bears testimony to their incredible benevolence and charity for their brethren in distress, while he attempts to ridicule this virtue as foolish weakness in an age of unbounded selfishness.

The humble and painful condition of the church under civil oppression made hypocrisy in the confession of Christianity much more rare at that day than in more favorable times, and produced the fairest bloom of the Christian graces, of fervor in prayer, of readiness for self-sacrifice, of brotherly love, of martyr-heroism, and a patience, which in the deepest suffering preserved the highest superiority to the world.

Most appropriately did the Christians, in these stormy times of persecution, delight to regard themselves as soldiers of Christ, enlisted under the victorious standard of the cross against sin, the world, and Satan. The baptismal vow was their oath of perpetual allegiance;¹ the Apostles' creed, their parole;² the sign of the Cross upon the forehead, their mark of service;³ temperance, courage, and faithfulness unto death, their cardinal virtues; the blessedness of heaven, their promised reward. "No soldier," exclaims Tertullian to the confessors, "goes with his sports or from his bed-chamber to the battle; but from the camp, where he hardens and accustoms himself to every inconvenience. Even in peace warriors learn to bear labor and fatigue, going through all military exercises, that neither soul nor body may flag . . . Ye wage a good warfare, in which the living God is the judge of the combat, the Holy Ghost the leader, eternal glory the prize." To this may be added the eloquent passage of Minutius Felix: "How fair a spectacle in the sight

¹ *Sacramentum militiæ Christianæ.*

² *Symbolum, or, tessera militaria.*

³ *Character militaris, stigma militare.*

of God is a Christian entering the lists with affliction, and with noble firmness combating menaces and tortures, or with a disdainful smile marching to death through the clamors of the people, and the insults of the executioners; when he bravely maintains his liberty against kings and princes, and submits to God, whose servant he is; when, like a conqueror, he triumphs over the judge that condemns him! For he certainly is victorious, who obtains what he fights for. He fights under the eye of God, and is crowned with length of days. You have exalted some of your stoical sufferers to the skies; such as Scaevola, who having missed his aim in an attempt to kill the king, voluntarily burned the mistaking hand. Yet how many among us have suffered not only the hand, but the whole body to be consumed without a complaint, when their deliverance was in their own power! But why should I compare our elders with your Mutius, or Aquilius, or Regulus, when our very children, our sons and daughters, inspired with patience, despise your racks and wild beasts, and all other instruments of cruelty? Surely nothing but the strongest reasons could persuade people to suffer at this rate; and nothing else but Almighty power could support them under their sufferings."

Yet, on the other hand, the Christian life of the period before Constantine has certainly been often unwarrantably idealized. In a human nature essentially the same, we could but expect all sorts of the same faults and exereescences, which we found even in the apostolic churches. The Epistles of Cyprian afford incontestable evidence, that, especially in the intervals of repose, an abatement of zeal soon showed itself, and, on the reopening of persecution, the Christian name was dishonored by whole hosts of apostates. And not seldom did the most prominent virtues, courage in death, and strictness of morals, degenerate to morbid fanaticism and unnatural rigor.

§ 88. *Opposition to Pagan Amusements and Collings.*

Christianity is anything but sanctimonious gloominess and misanthropic austerity. It is the fountain of all true joy, and of

that peace which "passeth all understanding." But this joy wells up from the consciousness of pardon and of fellowship with God, is inseparable from holy earnestness, and has no concord with worldly frivolity and sensual amusement, which carry the sting of a bad conscience and beget only disgust and bitter remorse. "What is more blessed," asks Tertullian, "than reconciliation with God our Father and Lord; than the revelation of the truth, the knowledge of error; than the forgiveness of so great past misdeeds? Is there a greater joy than the disgust with earthly pleasure, than contempt for the whole world, than true freedom, than an unstained conscience, than contentment in life and fearlessness in death?"

Against the intoxicating and immoral amusements of the heathen, therefore, the Christian life of the early church took the character of an inexorable Puritanic rigor. Members of the church were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to attend the popular gladiatorial shows and fights of beasts, where murder was practised as an art to please the eyes and gratify a cruel curiosity. Tatianus calls them, without exaggeration, terrible feasts, in which the soul feeds on human flesh and blood.¹ The other apologists speak of them with equal abhorrence, and cannot conceive how any person of culture and humane feelings could frequent and admire them. What a contrast this to the opinion of even such a noble heathen as Cicero, who, far from condemning the bloody conflicts of the circus, commended them as excellent schools of courage and contempt of death.² To what a height this cruel passion had risen among the Romans, we may judge from the fact, that on the single day of the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheatre five, or according to other accounts, even nine thousand wild beasts were slain; and that the emperor Commodus himself appeared before the applauding public seven hundred and thirty-five times in the character of Hercules, with club and lion's skin, and from a secure position killed innumerable

¹ Orat. c. Graec. c. 23.

² Tusc. Quaest. II. 17. It is only just, however, to remark that Ovid and Manilius were disposed to regard the circus as a school of barbarism.

beasts and men. Even a Constantine, as late as 313, committed a great multitude of defeated barbarians to the wild beasts of the circus for the amusement of the people, and was highly applauded for this generous act by an unknown heathen orator. The Christians were the more averse to these barbarous and revolting sports, since not only criminals, but often their own brethren and other innocent persons, slaves and captives of war, were there thrown to lions and tigers.

But the prevailing sentiment of the church went further, and rejected all kinds of public spectacles, tragedies, comedies, dances, mimic plays, and races; the more decidedly because these amusements were at that time so closely connected with the idolatries and immoralities of the heathens, that such a thing as reclaiming and elevating them was out of the question. After the days of Augustus the Roman theatre became more and more a nursery of vice, and deserved to be abhorred by all men of decent feeling and refined taste. Here, too, the church defended the interests of virtue and true culture. The theatrical shows of those days were justly regarded as belonging to the "pomp of the devil," which the Christian in baptism renounced. It sometimes happened that converts, who were overpowered by their old habits and visited the theatre, either relapsed into heathenism, or fell for a long time into a demoniacal state and deep dejection of spirit. Tertullian, even before he became a Montanist, wrote a special treatise *De spectaculis*, in which he endeavors to set forth the incompatibility of Christian sentiment with the frequenting of the theatre and circus. Such exhibitions, says he, excite all sorts of wild and impure passions, anger, fury, and lust; while the spirit of Christianity is a spirit of meekness, peace, and purity. What a man should not say, thinks Tertullian, he should not hear. He flatly rejects the grounds on which loose Christians would plead for those fascinating amusements;—their appeals to the silence of the Scriptures, or even to the dancing of David before the ark, and to Paul's comparison of the Christian life with the Grecian games. He inclined strongly to the extreme view, that all art is a species of fiction and falsehood, and incon-

sistent with Christian truthfulness. But to all the worldly pleasures of those times the Lord's words could be truly applied: "It is better to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell-fire." Tertullian likewise in two other treatises, *De habitu muliebri*, and *De cultu feminarum*, specially warned the Christian women against all display of dress, in which the heathen women shone in temples, theatres, and public places. Visit not such places, says he to them, and appear in public only for earnest reasons. The handmaids of God must distinguish themselves even outwardly from the handmaids of Satan, and set the latter a good example of simplicity, decorum, and chastity.

As to the various callings of life, Christianity gives the instruction: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called."¹ It forbids no respectable pursuit, and only requires that it be followed in a new spirit to the glory of God and the profit of men. This is one proof of its universal application—its power to enter into all the relations of human life and into all branches of society. This is beautifully presented by the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* in the passage already quoted.² Tertullian also protests to the heathens: "We are no Brahmins nor Indian gymnosophists, no hermits, no exiles from life.³ We are mindful of the thanks we owe to God, our Lord and Creator; we despise not the enjoyment of his works; we only temper it, that we may avoid excess and abuse. We dwell, therefore, with you in this world, not without markets and fairs, not without baths, inns, shops, and every kind of intercourse. We carry on commerce and war,⁴ agriculture and trade with you. We take part in your pursuits and give our labor for your use."⁵

But there were at that time some callings which either ministered solely to sinful gratification, like that of the stage-player, or were intimately connected with the prevailing idolatry, like the manufacture, decoration, and sale of mythological images and

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 20.

² § 46, p. 146.

³ *Exules vitæ.*

⁴ "*Militamus*," which proves that many Christians served in the army.

⁵ *Apol.* c. 42

symbols, the divination of astrologers, and all species of magic. These callings were strictly forbidden in the church, and must be renounced by the candidate for baptism. Other occupations, which were necessary indeed, but commonly perverted by the heathens to fraudulent purposes,—inn-keeping, for example,¹—were elevated by the Christian spirit; as in the case of one Theodotus at Ancyra, who made his house a refuge for the Christians and a place of prayer in the Diocletian persecution, in which he himself suffered martyrdom.

In regard to military and civil offices under the heathen government, opinion was divided. Some, on the authority of such passages as Matt. v. 39 and xxvi. 52, condemned all war as unchristian and immoral. Others appealed to the centurion of Capernaum and Cornelius of Caesarea, and held the military life consistent with a Christian profession. The tradition of the *legio fulminatrix* indicates that there were Christian soldiers in the Roman armies, and at the time of Diocletian the number of Christians at the court and in civil office was very considerable. But in general the Christians of those days, with their lively sense of foreignness to this world, and their longing for the heavenly home, were averse to high office in a heathen state; and Tertullian expressly says, that nothing was more alien to them than politics. Their conscience required them to abstain scrupulously from all idolatrous usages, sacrifices, libations, and flatteries connected with such station; and this requisition must come into frequent collision with their duties to the state, so long as the state remained heathen. They honored the emperor as appointed to earthly government by God, and as standing nearest of all men to him in power; and they paid their taxes, as Justin Martyr expressly states, with exemplary faithfulness. But their obedience ceased whenever the emperor, as he frequently did, demanded of them idolatrous acts. Tertullian thought that the empire would last till the end of the world, and would be irreconcilable with the Christian profession. Against the idolatrous

¹ Hence *cauponari*, from *caupo*.

worship of the emperor he protests with Christian boldness: "Augustus, the founder of the empire, would never be called Lord; for this is a surname of God. Yet I will freely call the emperor so, only not in the place of God. Otherwise I am free from him; for I have only one Lord, the almighty and eternal God, who also is the emperor's Lord. . . . Far be it from me to call the emperor God; which is not only the most shameful, but the most pernicious flattery."

The comparative indifference then, and partial aversion of the primitive Christians to the affairs of the state, to civil legislation and administration, which exposed them to the frequent reproach and contempt of the heathens, was not so much the result of their principles as of their situation, and must not be attributed to an "indolent or criminal disregard for the public welfare" (as Gibbon intimates), but to their just abhorrence of the innumerable idolatrous rites connected with the public and private life of the heathens. But while they refused to incur the guilt of idolatry, they fervently and regularly prayed for the emperor and the state, their enemies and persecutors; they were the most peaceful subjects, and during this long period of almost constant provocation, abuse, and persecutions, they never took part in those frequent insurrections and rebellions which weakened and undermined the empire. They renovated society from within, by revealing in their lives as well as in their doctrine a higher order of private and public virtue, and thus proved themselves patriots in the best sense of the word.

§ 89. *The Church and Slavery.*

WALLON: *Histoire de l'esclavage de l'antiquité*. Par. 1847. 3 vols. MÖHLER (R. C.): *Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte der Aufhebung der Sklaverei*. 1834. (Vermischte Schriften, vol. 2nd, p. 54 sqq.) SCHAFF: *History of the Apost. Church*, § 113, p. 454 sqq. (The American works on slavery, by Bledsoe, Armstrong, Ross, Carey, Hodge, Goodell, Channing, Barnes, Cheever, and many others, are controversial, not historical, and relate to the modern question of negro-slavery.)

Heathenism had no conception whatever of the general and

natural rights of men. The ancient republics consisted in the exclusive dominion of a minority over a hopelessly oppressed majority. Both the Greeks and Romans regarded only the free, i. e. the free-born rich and independent citizens as men in the full sense of the term, and denied this privilege to the foreigners, the laborers, the poor, and the slaves. They claimed the natural right to make war upon all foreign nations, without distinction of race, in order to subject them to their iron rule. Even with Cicero the foreigner and the enemy are synonymous terms. The barbarians were taken in thousands by the chance of war (above 100,000 in the Jewish war alone) and sold as cheap as horses. Besides, an active slave-trade was carried on, particularly in the Euxine, the eastern provinces, the coast of Africa, and Britain. It may be safely asserted that the greater part of mankind in the old Roman empire was reduced to a hopeless state of slavery, and to a half brutish level.¹ And this evil of slavery was so

¹ Attica numbered, according to Ctesicles, under the governorship of Demetrius the Phalerian (309 B.C.), 400,000 slaves, 10,000 foreigners, and only 21,000 free citizens. In Sparta the disproportion was still greater. As to the Roman empire, Gibbon estimates the number of slaves, under the reign of Claudius, at no less than one half of the entire population, i. e. about sixty millions (I. 52 ed. Milman, N. Y. 1850). But according to Robertson there were twice as many slaves as free citizens, and Blair (in his work on Roman slavery, Edinb. 1833, p. 15) estimates over three slaves to one freeman, between the conquest of Greece (146 B.C.) and the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235). The proportion was of course very different in the cities and in the rural districts. Athaenaeus, as quoted by Gibbon (p. 51) boldly asserts that he knew very many (*-ἀμυλλοί*) Romans who possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and even twenty thousand slaves. In a single palace at Rome four hundred slaves were maintained, and were all executed for not preventing their master's murder (Tacit. Annal. XIV. 43). The legal condition of the slaves is thus described by Taylor on *Civil Law*, as quoted in Cooper's *Justinian*, p. 411: "Slaves were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus*; nay, were in a much worse state than any cattle whatsoever. They had no head in the state, no name, no title, or register; they were not capable of being injured; nor could they take by purchase or descent; they had no heirs, and therefore could make no will; they were not entitled to the rights and considerations of matrimony, and therefore had no relief in case of adultery; nor were they proper objects of cognation or affinity, but of quasi-cognation only; they could be sold, transferred, or pawned, as goods or personal estate, for goods they were, and as such they were esteemed; they might be tortured for evidence, punished at the discretion of their lord, and even put to death by his authority; together with many other civil incapacities which I have no room to enumerate." Gibbon (p. 48) thinks that "against such internal enemies, whose desperate insurrections had more than once reduced the republic to the brink of

thoroughly interwoven with the entire domestic and public life of the heathen world, and so deliberately regarded, even by the greatest philosophers, Aristotle for instance, as natural and indispensable, that the abolition of it seemed to belong among the impossible things.

Yet from the outset Christianity has labored for this end: not by impairing the right of property, not by outward violence, nor sudden revolution; this, under the circumstances, would only have made the evil worse; but by its moral power, by preaching the divine character and original unity of all men, their common redemption through Christ, the duty of brotherly love, and the true freedom of the spirit. It placed slaves and masters on the same footing of dependence on God and of freedom in God, the Father, Redeemer, and Judge of both. It conferred inward freedom even under outward bondage, and taught obedience to God and for the sake of God, even in the enjoyment of outward freedom. This moral and religious freedom must lead at last to the personal and civil liberty of the individual; since Christianity redeems not only the soul but the body also, and the process of regeneration ends in the resurrection and glorification of the entire natural world.

In the period before us, however, the abolition of slavery, save in isolated cases of manumission, was utterly out of question, considering only the enormous number of the slaves. The world was far from ripe for such a step. The church, in her persecuted condition, had as yet no influence at all over the machinery of the state and the civil legislation. And she was at that time so

destruction, the most severe regulations and the most cruel treatment seemed almost justifiable by the great law of self-preservation." It is but just to remark, that the philosophers of the first and second century, Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch, entertain much milder views on this subject than the older writers, and commend a humane treatment of the slaves; also that the Antonines improved their condition to some extent, and took the oft abused jurisdiction of life and death over the slaves out of private hands, and vested it in the magistrates. But at that time Christian principles and sentiments already freely circulated throughout the empire, and exerted a silent influence even over the educated heathens. This unconscious atmospheric influence, so to speak, is continually exerted by Christianity over the surrounding world, which without this would be far worse than it actually is.

absorbed in the transcendent importance of the higher world and in her longing for the speedy return of the Lord, that she cared very little for any earthly freedom or temporal happiness. Hence Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, counsels servants to serve only the more zealously to the glory of the Lord, that they may receive from God the higher freedom; and not to attempt to be redeemed at the expense of their Christian brethren, lest they be found slaves to their own caprice. From this we see that slaves, in whom faith awoke the sense of manly dignity and the desire of freedom, were accustomed to demand their redemption at the expense of the church, as a right, and were thus liable to value the earthly freedom more than the spiritual. Hence the apostolic father's admonition, which seems to be rather inconsistent with the advice of St. Paul: "If thou mayest be free, use it rather; for he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman."¹ Tertullian declares the outward freedom worthless without the inward, without the ransom of the soul from the bondage of sin. "How can the world," says he, "make a servant free? All is mere show in the world, nothing truth. For the slave is already free, as a purchase of Christ; and the freedman is a servant of Christ. If thou takest the freedom which the world can give for true, thou hast thereby become again the servant of man, and hast lost the freedom of Christ, in that thou thinkest it bondage." Chrysostom, in the fourth century, was the first of the fathers to discuss the question of slavery at large in the spirit of the apostle Paul, and to recommend, though cautiously, a gradual emancipation.

But the church before Constantine labored with great success to improve the intellectual and moral condition of the slaves, to adjust inwardly the inequality between slaves and masters, as the first and efficient step towards the final outward abolition of the evil, and to influence the public opinion even of the heathens, as may be seen in the milder views of a Seneca, Pliny, Plutarch, and the later legislation concerning the treatment of this unfortunate class of men.

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 21, 22.

It is here to be considered, first of all, that Christianity spread freely among the slaves, except where they were so extremely rude as to be insensible to all higher impressions; and that they were not rarely the instruments of the conversion of their masters, especially of the women and children, whose training was frequently intrusted to them. Not a few slaves died martyrs, and were enrolled among the saints; Onesimus, for example, Eutychus, Victorinus, Maro, Nereus, Achilleus, Potamiaena, and others. An ancient tradition makes Onesimus, the slave of Philemon, bishop of Beroea in Macedonia.¹ According to the account of the author of the "Philosophoumena" even a Roman bishop, Calixtus I., in the early part of the third century, was originally a slave. Celsus cast it up as a reproach to Christianity, that it let itself down so readily to slaves, fools, women, and children. But Origen justly saw an excellence of the new religion in this very fact, that it could raise this despised and, in the prevailing view, irreclaimable class of men to the level of moral purity and worth. If, then, converted slaves, with the full sense of their intellectual and religious superiority, still remained obedient to their heathen masters, and even served them more faithfully than before, resisting decidedly only their immoral demands (like Potamiaena, and other chaste women and virgins in the service of voluptuous masters),—they showed, in this very self-control, the best proof of their ripeness for civil freedom, and at the same time furnished the fairest memorial of that Christian faith, which raised the soul, in the enjoyment of sonship with God and in the hope of the blessedness of heaven, above the sufferings and the conflicts of earth. Euelpistes, a slave of the imperial household, who was carried with Justin Martyr to the tribunal of Rusticus, on being questioned concerning his condition, replied: "I am a slave of the emperor, but I am also a Christian, and have received liberty from Jesus Christ; by his grace I have the same hope as my brethren."

¹ According to the Apost. Constitutions VII. 46, St. Paul himself ordained and installed him as bishop over that congregation. But the Roman Martyrologium makes him successor of Timothy at Ephesus.

Where the owners of the slaves themselves became Christians, the old relation virtually ceased; both came together to the table of the Lord, and felt themselves brethren of one family, in striking contrast with the condition of things among their heathen neighbors as expressed in the current proverb: "As many enemies as slaves."¹ That there actually were such cases of fraternal fellowship, like that which St. Paul recommended to Philemon, we have the testimony of Lactantius, at the end of our period, who writes in his *Institutes*,² no doubt from life: "Should any say: Are there not also among you poor and rich, servants and masters, distinctions among individuals? No; we call ourselves brethren for no other reason, than that we hold ourselves all equal. For since we measure everything human not by its outward appearance, but by its intrinsic value, we have, notwithstanding the difference of outward relations, no slaves, but we call them and consider them brethren in the Spirit and fellow-servants in religion." The same writer says: "God would have all men equal.³ . . . With him there is neither servant nor master. If he is the same Father to all, they are all with the same right free. So no one is poor before God, but he who is destitute of righteousness; no one rich, but he who is full of virtues."

Such views must lead us to presume, that even in this early period instances of actual manumission among Christian slave-owners were not rare. And we read, in fact, in the Acts of the martyrdom of the Roman bishop Alexander, that a Roman prefect, Hermas, converted by that bishop, in the reign of Trajan, received baptism at an Easter festival with his wife and children and twelve hundred and fifty slaves, and on this occasion gave all his slaves their freedom and munificent gifts besides.⁴ So in

¹ Totidem esse hostes, quot servos.—Seneca, Ep. 47.

² Lib. v. c. 15 (ed. Fritzsch. Lips 1842, p. 257).

³ Inst. v. 14 (p. 257): Deus enim, qui homines generat et inspirat, omnes aequos, id est pares esse voluit; eandem conditionem vivendi omnibus posuit; omnes ad sapientiam genuit; omnibus immortalitatem spepondit, nemo a beneficiis coelestibus segregatur. . . . Nemo apud eum servus est, nemo dominus; si enim cunctis idem Pater est, aequo jure omnes liberi sumus.

⁴ Acta Sanct. Boll. Maj. tom. i. p. 371.

the martyrology of St. Sebastian, it is related that a wealthy Roman prefect, Chromatius, under Diocletian, on embracing Christianity, emancipated fourteen hundred slaves, after having them baptized with himself, because their sonship with God put an end to their servitude to man.¹ In the beginning of the fourth century St. Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianilla, of an old Roman family, set all their slaves, seventy-three in number, at liberty, after they had received baptism.² These traditions may indeed be doubted as to the exact facts in the case; but they are nevertheless conclusive for our purpose as the exponents of the spirit which animated the church at that time concerning the duty of Christian masters. It was felt that in a thoroughly Christianized society there can be no room for despotism on the one hand and slavery on the other. After the third century the manumission became a solemn act, which took place in the presence of the clergy and the congregation. The master led the slave to the altar; there the document of emancipation was read, the minister pronounced the blessing, and the congregation received him as a free brother with equal rights and privileges. Constantine found this custom already established, and African councils of the fourth century requested the emperor to give it general force.

§ 90. *Prayer and Fasting.*

In regard to the importance and the necessity of prayer, as the pulse and thermometer of spiritual life, the ancient church had but one voice. Here the plainest and the most enlightened Christians met; the apostolic fathers, the steadfast apologists, the realistic Africans, and the idealistic Alexandrians. Tertullian sees in prayer the daily sacrifice of the Christian, the bulwark of faith, the weapon against all the enemies of the soul. The believer should not go to his bath nor take his food without prayer; for the nourishing and refreshing of the spirit must precede that of the body, and the heavenly must go before the earthly.

¹ Acta Sanct. Ian. tom. ii. p. 275.

² Acta Sanct. Maj. tom. vi. p. 777.

"Prayer," says he, "blots out sins, repels temptations, quenches persecutions, comforts the desponding, blesses the high-minded, guides the wanderers, calms the billows, feeds the poor, directs the rich, raises the fallen, holds up the falling, preserves them that stand." Cyprian requires prayer by day and by night; pointing to heaven, where we shall never cease to pray and give thanks. The same father, however, falls already into that false, unevangelical view, which represents prayer as a meritorious work and a satisfaction to be rendered to God.¹ Clement of Alexandria conceives the life of a genuine Christian as an unbroken prayer. "In every place he will pray, though not openly, in the sight of the multitude. Even on his walks, in his intercourse with others, in silence, in reading, and in labor, he prays in every way. And though he commune with God only in the chamber of his soul, and call upon the Father only with a quiet sigh, the Father is near him." The same idea we find in Origen, who discourses in enthusiastic terms of the mighty inward and outward effects of prayer, and, with all his enormous learning, regards prayer as the sole key to the meaning of the scriptures.

The order of human life, however, demands special times for this consecration of the every-day business of men. The Christians generally followed the Jewish usage, observed as times of prayer the hours of nine, twelve, and three, corresponding also to the crucifixion of Christ, his death, and his descent from the cross; the cock-crowing likewise, and the still hour of midnight they regarded as calls to prayer.

With prayer for their own welfare they united intercessions for the whole church, for all classes of men, especially for the sick and the needy, and even for the unbelieving. Polycarp enjoins on the church of Philippi to pray for all the saints, for kings and rulers, for haters and persecutors, and for the enemies

¹ De orat. domin. 33 : Cito orationes ad Deum adscendunt, quas ad Deum merita operis nostri imponunt. De lapsis 17 : Dominus orandus est. Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est. Epist. xl. 2 : Preces et orationes, quibus Dominus longa et continua satisfactione placandus est.

of the cross. "We pray," says Tertullian, "even for the emperors and their ministers, for the holders of power on earth, for the repose of all classes, and for the delay of the end of the world."¹

With the free outpourings of the heart, without which living piety cannot exist, we must suppose, that, after the example of the Jewish church, standing forms of prayer were also used, especially such as were easily impressed on the memory and could thus be freely delivered. The familiar "ex pectore" and "sine monitore" of Tertullian are nothing against this; for a prayer committed to memory may and should be at the same time a prayer of the heart, as a familiar psalm or hymn may be read or sung with ever new devotion. The general use of the Lord's prayer in the ancient church in household and public worship is beyond all doubt. The most eminent fathers of the second and third centuries, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, wrote special treatises upon it. They considered it the model prayer, prescribed by the Lord for the whole church. Tertullian calls it the "regular and usual prayer,"² a brief summary of the whole gospel, and foundation of all the other prayers of the Christians." The use of it, however, was restricted to communicants; because the address presupposes the worshipper's full sonship with God, and because the fourth petition was taken in a mystical sense, as referring to the holy supper, and was therefore thought not proper for catechumens. The celebrated "Gloria in Excelsis," the Greek original of which dates probably from the third century, and is even appended to the Alexandrian codex of the Bible, was a morning prayer of the early church. Of like age is the evening hymn of the Greek Christians in the Apostolic Constitutions.³ The Constitutions contain also special prayers for believers, catechumens, the possessed, the penitent, and even for the dead, and a complete eucharistic service, which forms one of the older portions of this gradually collected work, although it was probably not committed to writing till the fourth century.

¹ Pro mora finis.

² Oratio legitima et ordinaria.

³ Ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, beginning: Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης. Routh (Reliq. s. iii. 515) assigns this hymnus vespertinus to the second century.

As to posture in prayer; kneeling or standing, the raising or closing of the eyes, the extension or elevation of the hands, were considered the most suitable expressions of a bowing spirit and a soul directed towards God. On Sunday the standing posture was adopted, in token of festive joy over the resurrection from sin and death. But there was no uniform law in regard to these forms. Origen lays chief stress on the lifting of the soul to God and the bowing of the heart before him; and says that, where circumstances require, one can worthily pray sitting, or lying, or engaged in business.

After the Jewish custom, fasting was frequently joined with prayer, that the mind, unencumbered by earthly matter, might devote itself with less distraction to the contemplation of divine things. The apostles themselves sometimes employed this wholesome discipline,¹ though without infringing the gospel freedom by legal prescriptions. As the Pharisees were accustomed to fast twice in the week, on Monday and Thursday, the Christians appointed Wednesday and especially Friday, as days of half-fasting or abstinence from flesh,² in commemoration of the passion and crucifixion of Jesus. They did this with reference to the Lord's words: "When the bridegroom shall be taken from them, then shall they fast."³

In the second century arose also the custom of Quadragesimal fasts before Easter, which, however, differed in length in different countries; being sometimes reduced to forty hours, sometimes extended to forty days, or at least to several weeks. Perhaps equally ancient are the nocturnal fasts or vigils before the high festivals, suggested by the example of the Lord and the apostles.⁴ But the Quatemporal fasts⁵ are of later origin, though founded likewise on a custom of the Jews after the exile. On special occasions the bishops appointed extraordinary fasts, and applied the money saved to charitable purposes; a usage which became often a blessing to the poor. Yet hierarchical arrogance and

¹ Comp. Acts xiii. 2; xiv. 23 2 Cor. vi. 5.

² Semijejuniū, abstinentia. Comp. § 99.

⁴ Luke vi. 12. Acts xvi. 25

³ Matt. ix. 15.

⁵ From *quatvor tempora*.

Judaistic legalism early intruded here, even to the entire destruction of the liberty of a Christian man.¹

This rigidity appeared most in the Montanists. Besides the usual fasts, they observed special Xerophagiae,² as they were called; seasons of two weeks for eating only dry, or properly uncooked food, bread, salt, and water. The Catholic church, with true feeling, refused to sanction these excesses as a general rule, but allowed ascetics to carry fasting even to extremes. A confessor in Lyons, for example, lived on bread and water alone, but forsook that austerity, when reminded that he gave offence to other Christians by so despising the gifts of God.

Against the frequent over-valuation of fasting Clement of Alexandria quotes the word of Paul: The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, therefore neither abstinence from wine and flesh, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

§ 91. *Marriage, and Family Life.*

In ancient Greece and Rome the state was the highest object of life, and the only virtues properly recognised, wisdom, courage, moderation, and justice, were political virtues. Aristotle makes the state, that is the organized body of free citizens³ (foreigners and slaves are excluded), precede the family and the individual, and calls man essentially a "political animal." In Plato's ideal commonwealth the state is everything and owns everything, even the children. This political absolutism destroys the proper dignity and rights of the individual and the family, and materially hinders the development of the domestic and private virtues. Marriage was allowed no moral character, but merely a political import for the preservation of the state, and could not be legally contracted except by free citizens. Socrates, in instructing his son concerning this institution, tells him, according to Xenophon, that we select only such wives as we hope will yield beautiful children. Plato recommends even community of women to the

¹ Comp. Matt. ix. 15. Gal. iv. 9; v. 1.

² Ξεροφαγία, aridus victus. See Tertull. De jejun. 15. Hippol. Refut. VIII. 19.

³ Κοινωνία τῶν ἐλευθέρων.

class of warriors in his ideal republic, as the best way to secure vigorous citizens. Lycurgus, for similar reasons, encouraged adultery under certain circumstances, requiring old men to lend their young and handsome wives to young and strong men. Woman was placed almost on the same level with the slave. She differs, indeed, from the slave, according to Aristotle, but has, after all, really no will of her own, and is hardly capable of a higher virtue than the slave. Shut up in a retired apartment of the house, she spent her life with the slaves. As human nature is essentially the same in all ages, and as it is never entirely forsaken by the guidance of a kind Providence, we must certainly suppose that female virtue was always more or less maintained and appreciated even among the heathen. Such characters as Penelope, Nausicaa, Andromache, Antigone, Iphigenia, and Diotima, of the Greek poetry and history, bear witness of this. But the general position assigned to woman by the poets, philosophers, and legislators of antiquity, was one of social oppression and degradation. In Athens she was treated as a minor during life-time, and could not inherit except in the absence of male heirs. To the question of Socrates: "Is there any one with whom you converse less than with the wife?" his pupil, Aristobulus, replies: "No one, or at least very few." If she excelled occasionally, in Greece, by wit and culture, and, like Aspasia, Phryne, Laïs, Theodota, attracted the admiration and courtship even of earnest philosophers and statesmen, she generally belonged to the disreputable class of the *ἐταῖραι* or *amice*, who, in Corinth, were attached to the temple of Aphrodite, and enjoyed the sanction of religion for the practice of vice. How could there be any proper conception and abhorrence of the sin of licentiousness and adultery, if the very gods, a Jupiter, a Mars, and a Venus, were believed to be guilty of those crimes! Modesty forbids the mention of a still more odious vice, which even depraved nature abhors, which yet was freely discussed and praised by ancient poets and philosophers, practised with neither punishment nor dishonor, and likewise divinely sanctioned by the lewdness of Jupiter with Ganymede.

The Romans were originally more virtuous, domestic, and chaste, as they were more honest and conscientious, than the Greeks. With them the wife was honored by the title *domina*, *matrona*, *materfamilias*. But they likewise made marriage altogether subservient to the interest of the state, and allowed it in its legal form to free citizens alone. The proud maxims of the republic prohibited even the legitimate nuptials of a Roman with a foreign queen; and Cleopatra and Berenice were, as strangers, degraded to the position of concubines of Mark Antony and Titus. According to ancient custom the husband bought his bride from her parents, and she fulfilled the *coëmption* by purchasing, with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household deities. But this was for her simply an exchange of one servitude for another. She became the living property of a husband, who could lend her out, as Cato lent his wife to his friend Hortensius, and as Augustus took Livia from Tiberius Nero. "Her husband or master"—says the celebrated historian of imperial Rome, who will not be charged with exaggeration of the faults of his heroes¹—"was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice her behavior was approved, or censured, or chastised; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and death; and it was allowed, that in cases of adultery or drunkenness, the sentence might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited for the sole profit of her lord; and so clearly was woman defined, not as a *person*, but as a *thing*, that, if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed like other movables, by the use and possession of an entire year." Monogamy was the rule both in Greece and in Rome, but did not exclude illegitimate connexions. Concubinage, in its proper legal sense, was a sort of secondary marriage with a woman of servile or plebeian extraction, standing below the dignity of a matron and above the infamy of a prostitute. It was sanctioned and regulated by law; it prevailed both in the East and the West from the age of Augustus to the tenth century, and

¹ Gibbon, chapter XLIV. (vol. iv. 346 ed. Milman, N. York), where he discusses at length the Roman code of laws.

was preferred to regular marriage by Vespasian, and the two Antonines, the best Roman emperors. Adultery was severely punished, at times even with sudden destruction of the offender; but simply as an interference with the rights and property of a free man. The wife had no legal or social protection against the infidelity of her husband. The Romans worshipped a peculiar goddess of domestic life; but her name Viriplaca, the appeaser of husbands, indicates her partiality. Besides, it must be remembered that the intercourse of a husband with the slaves of his household and with public prostitutes was excluded from the odium and punishment of adultery. We say nothing of that unnatural abomination alluded to in Rom. i. 26, 27, which seems to have passed from the Etruscans and Greeks to the Romans, and prevailed among the highest as well as the lowest classes. The women, however, seem to have been as corrupt as their husbands, at least in the imperial age. Juvenal calls a chaste wife a "*rara avis in terris*." Under Augustus free-born daughters could no longer be found for the service of Vesta, and even the severest laws of Domitian could not prevent the six priestesses of the pure goddess from breaking their vow. Divorce is said to have been almost unknown in the ancient days of the Roman republic. But the customary civil and religious rites of marriage were gradually disused; apparent open community of life between persons of similar rank was taken as sufficient evidence of their nuptials; and marriage, after Augustus, fell to the level of any partnership, which might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. "Passion, interest, or caprice," says Gibbon on the imperial age, "suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure."¹ Various remedies were tardily adopted as the evil

¹ Gibbon (IV. 349) confirms the statement by several examples, to which more might be added. Maccenas, "*qui uxores millies duxit*" (Seneca, Ep. 114) was as notorious for his levity in forming and dissolving the nuptial tie, as famous for his patronage of literature and art. Martial (Epigr. VI. 7), in evident poetical exaggeration, speaks of ten husbands in one month. Juvenal (Satir. VI. 20) exposes a

spread, but they proved inefficient, until the spirit of Christianity gained the control of public opinion and improved the Roman legislation, which, however, continued for a long time to fluctuate between the custom of heathenism and the wishes of the church.

Another radical evil of heathen family life, which the church had to encounter throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire, was the absolute tyrannical authority of the parent over the children, extending even to the power of life and death, and placing the adult son of a Roman citizen on a level with the movable things and slaves, "whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy, without being responsible to any earthly tribunal." With this was connected the unnatural and monstrous custom of exposing poor, sickly, or deformed children to a cruel death, or in many cases to a life of slavery or infamy,—a custom expressly approved, for the public interest, even by a Plato and an Aristotle! "The exposition of children"—to quote once more from Gibbon—"was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity: it was sometimes prescribed, often permitted, almost always practised with impunity by the nations who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion. The Roman empire was stained with the blood of infants, till such murders were included, by Valentinian and his colleagues, in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons of jurisprudence and Christianity had been insufficient to eradicate this inhuman practice, till their gentle influence was fortified by the terrors of capital punishment."—

Such was the condition of the domestic life of the ancient world, when Christianity, with its doctrine of the sanctity of marriage, with its injunction of chastity, and with its elevation of woman from her half-slavish condition to moral dignity and

matron, who in five years submitted to the embraces of eight husbands. Jerome (ad Gerontiam) "saw at Rome a triumphant husband bury his twenty-first wife, who had interred twenty-two of his less sturdy predecessors."

equality with man, began the work of a silent transformation, which secured incalculable blessings to generations yet unborn. It laid the foundation for a well ordered family life. It turned the eye from the outward world to the inward sphere of affection, from the all-absorbing business of politics and state-life into the sanctuary of home; and encouraged the nurture of those virtues of private life, without which no true public virtue can exist.¹ But, as the evil here to be abated, particularly the degradation of the female sex and the want of chastity, was so deeply rooted and thoroughly interwoven in the whole life of the old world, this ennobling of the family, like the abolition of slavery, must be a very slow and tedious process. We cannot wonder, therefore, at the high estimate of celibacy, which in the eyes of many seemed to be the only radical escape from the impurity and misery of married life as it generally stood among the heathen. But, although the fathers are much more frequent and enthusiastic in the praise of virginity than in that of marriage, yet their views on this subject show an immense advance upon the moral standard of the greatest sages and legislators of Greece and Rome.

Marriage was regarded in the church from the beginning as a sacred union of body and soul for the propagation of civil society, and especially also the kingdom of God, for the exercise of virtue and the promotion of happiness. It was in its nature indissoluble except in case of adultery, and this crime was charged not only to the woman, but to the man as even the more guilty party, and to every extra-connubial carnal connexion. Thus the wife was equally protected against the wrongs of the husband, and chastity was made the general law of the family life.

Clement of Alexandria enjoins upon Christian married persons united prayer and reading of the Scriptures,² as a daily morning exercise, and very beautifully says: "The mother is the glory of her children, the wife is the glory of her husband, both are the glory of the wife, God is the glory of all together."

¹ Comp. § 32. p. 110 sq.

² *Εὐχὴ καὶ διδασκαλία*.

Sacred song also sometimes made part of the family devotions. A large sarcophagus, which Münter assigns to the age of the Antonines, represents an interesting scene of Christian family worship: on the right, four men, with rolls in their hands, reading or singing; on the left, three women and a girl playing a lyre. Tertullian, at the close of the two books which he wrote to his wife, draws the following graphic picture of a Christian marriage, which, though somewhat idealized, could be produced only from the moral spirit of the gospel:¹ "How can I paint the happiness of a marriage which the church ratifies, the oblation (the celebration of the Lord's supper) confirms, the benediction seals, angels announce, the Father declares valid. Even upon earth, indeed, sons do not legitimately marry without the consent of their fathers. What a union of two believers,—one hope, one vow, one discipline, and one worship! They are brother and sister, two fellow-servants, one spirit and one flesh. Where there is one flesh, there is also one spirit. They pray together, fast together, instruct, exhort, and support each other. They go together to the church of God, and to the table of the Lord. They share each other's tribulation, persecution, and revival. Neither conceals anything from the other; neither avoids, neither annoys the other. They delight to visit the sick, supply the needy, give alms without constraint, and in daily zeal lay their offerings before the altar without scruple or hindrance. They do not need to keep the sign of the cross hidden, nor to express slyly their Christian joy, nor to suppress the blessing. Psalms and hymns they sing together, and they vie with each other in singing to God. Christ rejoices when he sees and hears this. He gives them his peace. Where two are together in his name, there is he; and where he is, there the evil one cannot come."

For the conclusion of a marriage, Ignatius² required "the consent of the bishop, that it might be a marriage for God, and not for pleasure. All should be done to the glory of God." In Tertullian's time, as may be inferred from the passage just quoted,

¹ *Ad uxorem*, l. II. c. 8.

² *Ad Polyc.* c. 5. In the Syr. version, c. 2.

³ *Tert. Ad uxor.* II. 8; *comp. De monog.* c. 11; *De pulic.* c. 4.

the solemnization of marriage was already at least a religious act, though not a proper sacrament, and was sealed by the celebration of the holy supper in presence of the congregation. The Montanists were disposed even to make this benediction of the church necessary to the validity of marriage among Christians. All noisy and wanton Jewish and heathen nuptial ceremonies, and at first also the crowning of the bride, were discarded; but the nuptial ring, as a symbol of union, was retained.

The voice of the church, in agreement with the spirit of the Old Testament, was unanimous against *mixed* marriages with persons not Christian, and also with heretics, unless formed before conversion, in which case they were considered valid.¹ Tertullian even classes such marriages with adultery. What heathen, asks he, will let his wife attend the nightly meetings of the church, and the slandered supper of the Lord, take care of the sick even in the poorest hovels, kiss the chains of the martyrs in prison, rise in the night for prayer, and show hospitality to strange brethren? Cyprian calls marriage with an unbeliever a prostitution of the members of Christ. The council of Elvira (305) forbade such mixed marriages on pain of excommunication, but did not dissolve those already existing. We shall understand this strictness, if, to say nothing of the heathen marriage rites, and the wretchedly loose notions on chastity and conjugal fidelity, we consider the condition of those times, and the offences and temptations which met the Christian in the constant sight of images of the household gods, mythological pictures on the walls, the floor, and the furniture; in the libations at table; in short, at every step and turn in a pagan house.

From the high view of marriage, and also from an ascetic overestimate of celibacy, arose a very prevalent aversion to *second* marriage, particularly the re-marriage of widows. The Shepherd of Hermas allows this reunion indeed, but with the reservation, that continuance in single life earns great honor with the

¹ According to 1 Cor. vii. 12, 16.

Lord. Athenagoras goes so far as to call the second marriage a respectable adultery.¹

Tertullian came forward with the greatest decision, as advocate of monogamy against both successive and simultaneous polygamy.² He thought thus to occupy the true middle ground between the ascetic Gnostics, who rejected marriage altogether, and the Catholics, who allowed more than one.³ In the earlier period of his life, when he drew the above picture of Christian marriage, before his adoption of Montanism, he already placed a high estimate on celibacy as a superior grade of Christian holiness, appealing to 1 Cor. vii. 9, and advised at least his wife, in case of his death, not to marry again, especially with a heathen; but in his Montanistic writings, *De exhortatione castitatis* and *De monogamia*, he repudiates second marriage from principle, and contends against it with fanatical zeal, as unchristian, as an act of polygamy, nay of "stuprum" and "adulterium;" with all sorts of acute and sophistical argument; now, on the ground of an ideal conception of marriage as a spiritual union of two souls for time and eternity; now, from an opposite sensuous view; and again, on principles equally good against all marriage and in favor of celibacy. Thus, on the one hand, he argues, that the second marriage impairs the spiritual fellowship with the former partner, which should continue beyond the grave, which should show itself in daily intercessions and in yearly celebration of the day of death, and which hopes even for outward re-union after the resurrection.⁴ On the other hand, however, he places the essence of marriage in the com-

¹ Legat. 33: 'Ο δεύτερος γάμος εὐπρεπὴς ἐστὶ μοιχεία. Comp. Theophilus ad Autol. III. 15, where he says, that with the Christians ἐγκράτεια ἀσκεῖται, μονογαμία τηρεῖται. Perhaps even Irenaeus held a similar view, to judge from the manner in which he speaks of the woman of Samaria (John iv. 7), "quæ in uno viro non mansit, sed fornicata est in multis nuptiis." Adv. haer. III. 17, § 2.

² Comp. Hauber: Tertullian's Kampf gegen die zweite Ehe, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1845, p. 607 sqq.

³ De monog. 1.: Haeretici nuptias auferunt, psychici ingerunt; illi nec semel, isti aon semel nubunt.

⁴ De exhort. cast. c. 11. Duplex rubor est, quia in secundo matrimonio duae uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu alia in carne. Neque enim pristi-

munion of flesh,' and regards it as a mere concession, which God makes to our sensuality, and which man therefore should not abuse by repetition. The ideal of the Christian life, with him, not only for the clergy, but for the laity also, is celibacy. He lacks clear perception of the harmony of the moral and physical elements which constitutes the essence of marriage; and strongly as he elsewhere combats the Gnostic dualism, he here falls in with it in his depreciation of matter and corporeity, as necessarily incompatible with spirit. His treatment of the exegetical arguments of the defenders of second marriage is remarkable. The levirate law, he says, is peculiar to the Old Testament economy. To Rom. vii. 2 he replies, that Paul speaks here from the position of the Mosaic law, which, according to the same passage, is no longer binding on Christians. In 1 Cor. vii., the apostle allows second marriage only in his subjective, human judgment, and from regard to our sensuous infirmity; but in the same chapter (v. 40) recommends celibacy to all, and that on the authority of the Lord, adding here, that he also has the Holy Spirit, i.e. the principle, which is active in the new prophets of Montanism. The appeal to 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 6, from which the right of laymen to second marriage was inferred, as the prohibition of it there related only to the clergy, he met with the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, which admitted them all both to the privileges and to the obligations of priests. But his reasoning always amounts in the end to this: that the state of original virgin purity, which has nothing at all to do with the sensual, is the best. The true chastity consists, therefore, not in the chaste spirit of married partners, but in the entire continence of "virgines" and "spadones." The desire of posterity, he, contrary to the Old

nam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reservas affectionem ut jam receptae apud Dominum, pro ejus spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemoras, et offeres pro duabus, etc.

De exhort. cast. c. 9: Leges videntur matrimonii et stupri differentiam facere, per diversitatem illiciti, non per conditionem rei ipsius . . . Nuptiae ipsae ex se constant quod est stuprum.

Testament, considers unworthy of a Christian, who, in fact, ought to break away entirely from the world, and renounce all inheritance in it. Such a morality, forbidding the same that it allows, and rigorously setting up as an ideal, what it must in reality abate at least for the mass of mankind, may be very far above the heathen level, but is still plainly foreign to the deeper substance and the world-sanctifying principle of Christianity.

The Catholic church, indeed, kept aloof from this Montanistic extravagance, and forbade second marriage only to the clergy; yet she rather advised against it,¹ and, as we shall more particularly observe in § 95, she leaned very decidedly towards a preference for celibacy, as a higher grade of Christian morality.

As to the relation of parents and children, Christianity exerted from the beginning a most salutary influence. It restrained the tyrannical power of the father. It taught the eternal value of children as heirs of the kingdom of heaven, and commenced the great work of education on a religious and moral basis. It resisted with all energy the exposition of children, who were then generally devoured by dogs and wild beasts, or if found, trained up for slavery or doomed to a life of infamy. Several apologists, the author to the Epistle of Diognetus, Justin Martyr,² Minutius Felix, and Arnobius speak with just indignation against this unnatural custom. Lactantius puts it on a par with murder of the worst kind, and admits no excuse on the ground of pity or poverty, since God provides for all his creatures.³ The Christian spirit of humanity gradually so penetrated the spirit of the age that the better emperors, from the time of

¹ Non prohibemus secundas nuptias, says Ambrose, sed non suademus.

² Apol. I. 27 and 29 (p. 71-77, ed. Otto).

³ Inst. div. I. vi. 20 (p. 48 ed. Lips.): Ne illud quidem concedi aliquis existimet, ut recens natos liceat oblidere, quae vel maxima est impietas; ad vitam enim Deus inspirat animas, non ad mortem. . . . Tam igitur nefarium est exponere, quam necare. At enim paricidae facultatum angustias conqueruntur, nec se pluribus liberis educandis sufficere posse praetendunt; quasi vero aut facultates in potestate sint possidentium, aut non quotidie Deus ex divitibus pauperes, et ex pauperibus pauperes faciat. Quare si quis liberos ob pauperiem non poterit educare, satius est ut se ab uxoris congressione contineat, quam sceleratis manibus Dei opera cor rumpat.

Trajan, began to direct their attention to the diminution of these crying evils, but the best legal enactments would never have been able to eradicate them without the spiritual influence of the church.

§ 92. *Brotherly Love, and Love for Enemies.*

Comp. in part SCHAUBACH: Das Verhältniss der Moral des classischen Alterthums zur christlichen, beleuchtet durch vergleichende Erörterung der Lehre von der *Feindesliebe*, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1851, p. 59-121. Also the works of SCHMIDT and CHASTEL, quoted at § 86.

It is generally admitted, that selfishness was the soul of heathen morality. The great men of antiquity rose indeed above its sordid forms, love of gain and of pleasure, but were the more under the power of ambition and love of fame. It was for fame that Miltiades and Themistocles fought against the Persians; that Alexander set out on his tour of conquest; that Herodotus wrote his history, that Pindar sang his odes, that Sophocles composed his tragedies, that Demosthenes delivered his orations, that Phidias sculptured his Zeus. Fame was set forth in the Olympian games as the highest object of life; fame is held up by Aeschylus as the last comfort of the suffering; fame was declared by Cicero,¹ before a large assembly, the ruling passion of the very best of men. Even the much lauded patriotism of the heroes of ancient Greece and Rome was only an enlarged egotism. In the catalogue of classical virtues we look in vain for the two fundamental and cardinal virtues, love and humility. The very word which corresponds in Greek to humility,² signifies generally, in classical usage, a mean, abject mind. The highest and purest form of love known to the heathen moralist is friendship, which Cicero praises as the highest good next to wisdom. But friendship itself rested, as was freely admitted, on a utilitarian, that is, on an egotistic basis, and was only possible among persons of equal or similar rank in society. For the

¹ Pro Archia poeta, c. 11. Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.

Ταπεινός, ταπεινός, ταπεινότης, ταπεινοφροσύνη.

stranger, the barbarian, and the enemy, the Greek and Roman knew no love, but only contempt and hatred. The *jus talionis*, the return of evil for evil, was universally acknowledged throughout the heathen world as a just principle and maxim, in direct opposition to the plainest injunctions of the New Testament.¹ We must offend those, who offend us, says Aeschylus.² Not to take revenge was regarded as a sign of weakness and cowardice.

On the other hand, however, we should suppose that every Christian virtue must find some basis in the noblest moral instincts and aspirations of nature; since Christianity is not against nature, but simply above it and intended for it. Thus we may regard the humanity and magnanimity which we meet with occasionally in heathen antiquity, as an approximation to, and preparation for, the Christian virtue of charity. It must be admitted, that the better schools of moralists rose more or less above the popular approval of hatred of the enemy, wrath, and revenge. Aristotle and the Peripatetics, without condemning this passion as wrong in itself, enjoined at least moderation in its exercise. The Stoics went further, and required complete apathy or suppression of all strong and passionate affections. Cicero even declares placability and clemency one of the noblest traits in the character of a great man,³ and praises Caesar for forgetting nothing except injuries. Seneca, Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius, who, however, were already indirectly and unconsciously under the influence of the atmosphere of Christian morality, decidedly condemn anger and vindictiveness, and recommend kindness to slaves, and a generous treatment even of enemies.

But this sort of love for an enemy, it should be remembered, in the first place, does not flow naturally from the spirit

¹ Matt. v. 23, 24, 44; vi. 12; xviii. 21. Rom. xii. 17, 19, 20. 1 Cor. xiii. 7. 1 Thess. v. 15. 1 Pet. iii. 9.

² Prom. Vinc. v. 1005, comp. 1040. Many passages of similar import from Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, etc.; see quoted on p. 81 sqq. of the article of Schaubach referred to above.

³ De Offic. I. 25: *Nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno et uraeclaro viro dignius placabilitate et clementia.*

of heathenism, but is, as it were, an accident and exception, secondly, it is not enjoined as a general duty, but expected only from the great and the wise; thirdly, it does not rise above the conception of magnanimity, which, more closely considered, is itself connected with a refined form of egotism, and with a noble pride that regards it below the dignity of a gentleman to notice the malice of inferior men;¹ fourthly, it is commended only in its negative aspect as refraining from the right of retaliation, not as active benevolence and charity to the enemy, which returns good for evil; and finally, it is nowhere derived from a religious principle, the love of God to man, and therefore has no proper root, and lacks the animating soul.

No wonder, then, that in spite of the finest maxims of a few philosophers, the imperial age was controlled by the coldest selfishness, so that, according to the testimony of Plutarch, friendship had died out even in families, and the love of brothers and sisters was supposed to be possible only in a heroic age long passed by.

It was in such an age of universal egotism that Christianity first revealed the true *spirit* of love to man as flowing from the love of God, and exhibited it in actual life. This cardinal virtue we meet first within the Church itself, as the bond of union among believers, and the sure mark of the genuine disciple of Jesus. "That especially," says Tertullian to the heathen, in a celebrated passage of his *Apologeticus*, "which love **works** among us, exposes us to many a suspicion. 'Behold,' they say, 'how they love one another!' Yea, verily this must strike them; for *they* hate each other. 'And how ready they are to die for one another!' Yea, truly; for *they* are rather ready to kill one another. And even that we call each other brethren, seems to them suspicious for no other reason, than that among them all expressions of kindred are only feigned. We are even your brethren, in virtue of the common nature, which is the mother of us all; though ye, as evil brethren, deny your

¹ Comp. Seneca, *De ira* II. 32: Magni animi est injurias despicere.—Ille magnus et nobilis est, qui more magnæ feræ latratus minorum eorum securus exaudit.

human nature. But how much more justly are those called and considered brethren, who acknowledge the one God as their Father; who have received the one Spirit of holiness; who have awaked from the same darkness of uncertainty to the light of the same truth? . . . And we, who are united in spirit and in soul, do not hesitate to have also all things common, except wives. For we break fellowship just where other men practise it."

This brotherly love flowed from community of life in Christ. Hence Ignatius calls believers "Christ-bearers" and "God bearers."¹ The article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the communion of saints;" the current appellation of "brother" and "sister;" and the fraternal kiss usual on admission into the church, and at the Lord's supper,—were not mere empty forms, nor even a sickly sentimentalism, but the expression of true feeling and experience, only strengthened by the common danger and persecution. A travelling Christian, of whatever language or country, with a letter of recommendation from his bishop,² was everywhere hospitably received as a long known friend. It was a current phrase: In thy brother thou hast seen the Lord himself. The force of love reached beyond the grave. Families were accustomed to celebrate at appointed times the memory of their departed members; and this was one of the grounds on which Tertullian opposed second marriage.

This brotherly love expressed itself, above all, in the most self-sacrificing beneficence to the poor and sick, to widows and orphans, to strangers and prisoners, particularly to confessors in bonds. It magnifies this virtue in our view, to reflect, that the Christians at that time belonged mostly to the lower classes, and in times of persecution often lost all their possessions. Every congregation was a charitable society, and in its public worship took regular collections for its needy members. To these were added numberless private charities, given in secret, which eter-

¹ Χριστοφόροι, Θεοφόροι.

² Γράμματα τετυπωμένα or κοινωνικά; epistolae or literae formatae; so called, because composed after a certain τύπος or forma, to guard against frequent forgeries.

nity alone will reveal. The church at Rome had under its care a great multitude of widows, orphans, blind, lame, and sick,¹ whom the deacon Laurentius, in the Decian persecution, showed to the heathen prefect, as the most precious treasures of the church. It belonged to the idea of a Christian housewife, and was particularly the duty of the deaconesses, to visit the Lord, to clothe him, and give him meat and drink, in the persons of his needy disciples. Even such opponents of Christianity as Lucian testify to this zeal of the Christians in labors of love, though they see in it nothing but an innocent fanaticism. "It is incredible," says Lucian,² "to see the ardor with which the people of that religion help each other in their wants. They spare nothing. Their first legislator has put into their heads that they are all brethren." This beneficence reached beyond immediate neighborhood. In cases of general distress the bishops appointed special collections, and also fasts, by which food might be saved for suffering brethren. The Roman church sent its charities great distances abroad.³ Cyprian of Carthage, who, after his conversion, sold his own estates for the benefit of the poor, collected a hundred thousand sester tia, or more than three thousand dollars, to redeem Christians of Numidia, who had been taken captive by neighboring barbarians; and he considered it a high privilege, "to be able to ransom for a small sum of money him, who has redeemed us from the dominion of Satan with his own blood." A father, who refused to give alms on account of his children, Cyprian charged with the additional sin of binding his children to an earthly inheritance, instead of pointing them to the richest and most loving Father in heaven.

Finally, this brotherly love expanded to love even for enemies, which returned the heathens good for evil, and not rarely, in persecutions and public misfortunes, heaped coals of fire on their heads. During the persecution under Gallus (252), when the pestilence raged in Carthage, and the heathens threw out their

¹ Cornelius, in Euseb. H. E. VI. 43.

² De morte Peregr. c. 13.

³ Dionysius of Corinth, in Eus. IV. 23.

dead and sick upon the streets, ran away from them for fear of the contagion, and cursed the Christians as the supposed authors of the plague, Cyprian assembled his congregation, and exhorted them to love their enemies; whereupon all went to work; the rich with their money, the poor with their hands, and rested not, till the dead were buried, the sick cared for, and the city saved from desolation. The same self-denial appeared in the Christians of Alexandria during a ravaging plague under the reign of Gallienus. These are only a few prominent manifestations of a spirit which may be traced through the whole history of martyrdom and the daily prayers of the Christians for their enemies and persecutors. For while the love of friends, says Tertullian, is common to all men, the love of enemies is a virtue peculiar to Christians.¹ "You forget," he says to the heathens in his Apology, "that, notwithstanding your persecutions, far from conspiring against you, as our numbers would perhaps furnish us with the means of doing, we pray for you and do good to you; that, if we give nothing for your gods, we do give for your poor, and that our charity spreads more alms in your streets than the offerings presented by your religion in your temples."

§ 93. *Treatment of the Dead. The Church in the Catacombs.*

Comp. the large illustrated works of BOTTARI, D'AGINCOURT, MARCHI, RÜSTELL, on the Catacombs of Rome, especially LOUIS PERRET: *Catacombes de Rome*; architecture, peintures murales, inscriptions, figures et symboles des pierres sépulcrales, verres gravés sur fonds d'or, lampes, vases, anneaux, instruments, etc., des cimetières des premiers chrétiens; etc. Par. 1853, sqq. 5 vols. (containing 325 plates). BELLERMANN: *Ueber die ältesten christlichen Begräbnisstätten u. die Katakomben zu Neapel*. Hamb. 1839. CHARLES MAITLAND (M.D.): *The Church in the Catacombs, or a Description of the Prim. Church of Rome, illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains*. Lond. 2d ed. 1847. CARD. WISEMAN: *Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs*. Lond. 1855. (A historical romance.) W. T. KIP: *The Catacombs*

¹ Ad Scapulam c. 1: Ita enim disciplina jubemur diligere inimicos quoque et orare pro iis qui nos persequuntur, ut haec sit perfecta et propria bonitas nostra, non communis. Amicos ei im diligere omnium est, inimicos autem solum Christianorum.

of Rome, as illustr. the Church of the first three centuries. N. York, 1854
 J. S. NORTHCOTE (R. C.): The Roman Catacombs. Lond. 1857. PIPER
 Die Grabinschriften der ältesten Christen, and other archaeological articles
 in the "Evang. Kalender" for 1855, p. 28 sqq.; 1857, p. 37 sqq., &c.

The early church took a cheerful view of death, and considered it, after the resurrection of Christ, as a peaceful, hopeful slumber. The day of a believer's death, especially if he were a martyr, was called the day of his heavenly birth. His grave was surrounded with symbols of hope and of victory; anchors, harps, palms, crowns. The primitive Christians always showed a tender care for the dead; under a vivid impression of the unbroken communion of saints and the future resurrection of the body in glory. For Christianity redeems the body as well as the soul, and consecrates it a temple of the Holy Ghost. Hence the Greek and Roman custom of burning the corpse was repugnant to Christian feeling. Tertullian even declared it a symbol of the fire of hell. In its stead the church adopted the primitive Jewish usage, practised also by the Egyptians and Babylonians, of burial;¹ but they discarded lamentations, rending of clothes, and all signs of extravagant grief. The bodies of the dead were washed,² wrapped in linen cloths,³ sometimes embalmed,⁴ and then, in the presence of ministers, relatives, and friends, with prayer and singing of psalms, committed as seeds of immortality to the genial bosom of the earth. Funeral discourses were very common as early as the Nicene period. But in the times of persecution the interment was often necessarily performed as hastily and secretly as possible. The death-days of martyrs the church celebrated annually at their graves, with oblations, love-feasts, and the Lord's supper. Families likewise commemorated their departed members in the domestic circle. The current prayers for the dead were originally only thanksgivings for the grace of God manifested to them. But they afterwards passed into intercessions, without any warrant in the

¹ Comp. Gen. xxiii. 19. Matt. xxvii. 60. Jno. xi. 17. Acts v. 6; viii. 2.

² Acts ix. 37.

³ Matt. xxvii. 59. Luke xxiii. 53. Jno. xi. 44.

⁴ Jno. xix. 39 sq.; xii. 7.

teaching of the apostles, and in connexion with questionable views in regard to the intermediate state. Tertullian, for instance, in his argument against second marriage, says of the Christian widow, she prays for the soul of her departed husband,¹ and brings her annual offering on the day of his departure.

The same feeling of the inseparable communion of saints gave rise to the usage, unknown to the heathens, of consecrated places of common burial.² For these cemeteries, the Christians, in the times of persecution, when they were mostly poor and enjoyed no corporate rights, selected remote, secret spots, such as waste fields, caves, and especially subterranean vaults, called at first crypts,³ but after the sixth century commonly termed catacombs, or resting-places.⁴

The catacombs were originally sand-pits and quarries, whence building materials were taken. Into these excavations, when abandoned, the heathens frequently cast the corpses of slaves and convicts. The Christians used them as places of refuge, chapels, and tombs, and converted these dark and cheerless passages into sacred rooms, where, especially on the festivals of the martyrs, they held their most solemn worship, and amidst the shadows of death felt the breath of the resurrection and the life everlasting. The flourishing period of the catacomb-worship, however, began only with the increased reverence for saints, after Constantine, and continued till the eighth century, when the remains of the martyrs began to be deposited in the churches for more convenient worship; though long after this also, when the catacombs were again opened, in the sixteenth century, individual saints of the Roman church, like Philip Neri and Charles Borromeo, spent whole nights praying amid these venerable scenes of the triumphs of the early church. Jerome relates,⁵ how, while a school-boy, about the middle of the fourth century, he used to go with his companions on Sundays to the graves of the apostles and martyrs in the crypts at Rome,

¹ Pro anima ejus orat.

² Κρύπται, also arenariae.

³ Comp. in Ezech. 40.

⁴ Κοιμητήρια, cimeteria, dormitoria, areae.

⁵ Κατατύμβιον, catatumba, catacumba.

“where in subterranean depths the visitor passes to and fro between the bodies of the entombed on both walls, and where all is so dark, that the prophecy here finds its fulfilment: The living go down into hell.¹ Here and there a ray from above, not falling in through a window, but only pressing in through a crevice, softens the gloom; as you go onward, it fades away, and in the darkness of night which surrounds you, that verse of Virgil comes to your mind:



“Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.”

And the poet Prudentius also, in the beginning of the fifth century, several times speaks of these burial-places, and the devotions held within them.

These catacombs are found to this day in the vicinity of several Italian cities, Syracuse and Naples, and especially under the basilicas of St. Lorenzo, St. Agnes, and St. Sebastian in Rome, and from the sixteenth century they have been a field of antiquarian research. The most renowned of all is the one under St. Sebastian, which pope Calixtus (219-224) caused to be enlarged and ornamented, and where the bones of Peter and Paul, of forty-six bishops of Rome, and of an incredible number—the inscription on the entrance says a hundred and seventy-four thousand!—of martyrs, are said to repose. The niches are hewn out like shelves in the perpendicular walls, and closed with a slab of marble or tile. Sometimes they form several tiers; in the upper story of the crypt of Calixtus, even eight and ten. The more wealthy were laid in sarcophagi. The larger rooms are arranged as chapels for worship, with a simple altar, and a bishops' chair hewn out of the tufa. Articles of ornament, rings and sculptures, playthings in the case of children, were inclosed with the dead; even rare coins and all kinds of tools, also lamps of clay (terracotta), metal, or glass, carved with the monogram of Christ, or other Christian symbols. A great num-

¹ Num. xvi. 33, and Ps. lv. 15.

ber of flasks and cups also, with or without ornamentation, are found, mostly outside of the graves and fastened to the grave-lids. These were formerly supposed to have been receptacles for tears, or, from the red, dried sediment in them, for the blood of martyrs. But later archaeologists consider them drinking vessels used in the agapae and oblations in the crypts. On opening the graves the skeleton appears frequently even now very well preserved, sometimes in dazzling whiteness, as covered with a glistening glory; but falls into dust at the touch.

The inscriptions are interesting and characteristic, traced in red or black uncial letters on the grave-lids and the sarcophagi, often in bad Latin, faulty orthography, and in their simplicity strongly contrasting with the inscriptions of distinguished heathen Romans or the magnificence of modern Christian Rome. They are collected in large numbers in the Vatican and the lately founded Lateran museums in Rome, and some in the Christian museum at Berlin. The oldest give, for the most part, only the name of the deceased and his nearest kindred, or the name, with the age, and a short word of Christian love and hope: "In peace;" "Deposited;" "He sleeps;" "He rests well;" "Live in God;" "Be received into Christ;" "God quicken thy spirit;" "Weep not, my child; death is not eternal." Almost uniformly the Constantinian monogram of Christ, , or , stands upon the grave-stones, as well as the symbolical signs of the cross, the ship, the dove with the olive-branch, the anchor, the palm;² and often also hammers, pincers, spears, and other instruments of torture. The sarcophagi, which came into more general use after Constantine, as also the lids and walls, are richly ornamented with scenes from Bible history and Christian tradition, and show us the beginnings of Christian painting and sculpture. The most beautiful piece of ancient Christian sculpture is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, a prefect of Rome, who died soon after his baptism in 359.

Domitius, or Florentinus, or Victorina dormit—dormit in pace—in pace Domini.

² Comp. § 99.

§ 94. *Asceticism.*

MÖHLER (R. C.); Geschichte des Mönchthums in der Zeit seiner erster Entstehung u. ersten Ausbildung, 1836 (Vermischte Schriften, ed. Döllinger, Regensb. 1839. II. p. 165 sqq.). IS. TAYLOR: Ancient Christianity, 4th ed. London, 1844, I. 133-299 (anti-Puseyite and anti-Catholic). H. RUFFNER (Presbyt.): The Fathers of the Desert; or an Account of the Origin and Practice of Monkery among heathen nations; its passage into the church; and some wonderful Stories of the Fathers concerning the primitive Monks and Hermits. N. York, 1850. 2 vols.

Here we enter a field where the early church appears most remote from the free spirit of evangelical Protestantism, and stands nearest the legal position of Greek and Roman Catholicism. Here she seems already to regard the Christian life as consisting mainly in certain outward exercises, rather than an inward disposition; and she makes it the great problem of virtue, not so much to transform the world and sanctify the natural things and relations created by God, as to flee from the world into monastic seclusion, and voluntarily renounce property and marriage. The Pauline doctrine of faith and of justification by grace alone, steadily retreats, or rather, it has never yet been rightly enthroned in the general thought and life of the church. The qualitative view of morality yields more and more to quantitative calculation by the number of outward meritorious and even supererogatory works, prayer, fasting, alms-giving, voluntary poverty, and celibacy. This necessarily brings with it a Judaizing self-righteousness and over-estimate of the ascetic life, which developes, by an irresistible impulse, into the hermit-life and monasticism of the Nicene age. All the germs of this asceticism appear in the third century.

By asceticism¹ we mean, in general, a rigid outward self-discipline, by which the spirit strives after full dominion over the flesh, and a superior grade of virtue. It includes not only that true

¹ *Ἀσκησις*, from *ἀσκήω*, to exercise, to strengthen; primarily applied to athletic and gymnastic exercises, but used also, even by the heathens and by the Christians, of moral self-discipline.

moderation and restraint of the animal appetites, which is a universal Christian duty, but total abstinence from enjoyments in themselves lawful, from wine, animal food, property, and marriage, together with all kinds of penances and mortifications of the body. In the union of the abstractive and penitential elements, or of self-denial and self-punishment, the catholic asceticism stands forth complete in light and shade; exhibiting, on the one hand, wonderful examples of heroic renunciation of self and the world, but very often, on the other, a total misapprehension and perversion of Christian morality; the renunciation involving more or less a Gnostic contempt of the gifts and ordinances of the God of nature, and the penance or self-punishment running into practical denial of the all-sufficient merits of Christ. The ascetic and monastic tendency rests primarily upon a lively, though for the most part morbid sense of the sinfulness of the flesh and the irremediable corruption of the world; then upon the desire for undisturbed solitude and exclusive occupation with divine things; and finally, upon a certain religious ambition to attain extraordinary holiness and merit. It would anticipate the life of angels¹ upon earth. It substitutes an abnormal, self-appointed virtue and piety for the normal forms prescribed by God; and not rarely looks down upon the divinely-ordained standard with spiritual pride. It is a mark at once of moral strength and moral weakness. It presumes a certain degree of culture, in which man has emancipated himself from the powers of nature and risen to the consciousness of his moral calling; but thinks to secure itself against temptation only by entire separation from the world, instead of standing in the world to overcome it and transform it into the kingdom of God.

Asceticism is by no means limited to the Christian church, though it there first developed its highest and noblest form. We observe kindred phenomena even long before Christ; among the Jews, in the Nazarites, the Essenes, and the cognate Therapeutae,

¹ Matt. xxii. 30. Hence the frequent designation of monastic life as a *vita angelica*.

and still more among the heathens, in the old Persian and Indian religions, especially among the Buddhists. Even the Grecian philosophy was conceived by the Pythagoreans, the Platonists, and the Stoics, not as theoretical knowledge merely, but also as practical wisdom, and frequently joined itself to the most rigid abstemiousness, so that "philosopher" and "ascetic" were interchangeable terms. Most of the apologists of the second century had by this practical philosophy, particularly the Platonic, been led to Christianity; and they on this account retained their simple dress and mode of life. Tertullian congratulates the philosopher's cloak on having now become the garb of a better philosophy. In the show of self-denial the Cynics, the followers of Diogenes, went to the extreme; but these, at least in their later degenerate days, concealed under the guise of bodily squalor, untrimmed nails, and uncombed hair, a vulgar cynical spirit, and a bitter hatred of Christianity.

In the ancient church there was a special class of Christians of both sexes, who, under the name of "ascetics" or "abstinents,"¹ though still living in the midst of the community, retired from society, voluntarily renounced marriage and property, devoted themselves wholly to fastings, prayer, and religious contemplation, and strove thereby to attain Christian perfection. Sometimes they formed a society of their own,² for mutual improvement, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, in which even children could be received and trained to abstinence. They shared with the confessors the greatest regard from their fellow Christians, had a separate seat in the public worship, and were considered the fairest ornaments of the church. In times of persecution they sought with enthusiasm a martyr's death as the crown of perfection. While as yet each congregation was a lonely oasis in the desert of the world's corruption, and stood in downright opposition to the surrounding heathen world, these ascetics had no reason for separating from it and flying into the desert. It was under Constantine, and partly as the result of the union of church and state, the

¹ Ἀσκηταί, continentes; also παρθένοι, virgines.

² Ἀσκητηαίον.

consequent transfer of the world into the church, and the cessation of martyrdom, that asceticism developed itself to anchoretism and monkery, and endeavored thus to save the virgin purity of the church by carrying it into the wilderness. Yet the lives of the two first hermits, Paul of Thebes († 340) and Anthony of Egypt († 356), fall at least partly in the period before us. At the time of Cyprian¹ there was as yet no absolutely binding vow. The early origin and wide spread of this ascetic life are due to the deep moral earnestness of Christianity, and the prevalence of sin in all the social relations of the then still thoroughly pagan world. It was the excessive development of the negative, world-rejecting element in Christianity, which must precede its positive effort to transform and sanctify the world.

The ascetic principle, however, was not confined, in its influence, to the proper ascetics and monks. It ruled more or less the entire morality and piety of the ancient and mediaeval church; though, on the other hand, there were never wanting in her bosom protests of the free evangelical spirit against moral narrowness and excessive regard to the outward works of the law. The ascetics were but the most consistent representatives of the old catholic piety, and were commended as such by the apologists to the heathens. They formed the spiritual aristocracy, the full bloom of the church, and served especially as examples to the clergy.

But we must now distinguish two different kinds of asceticism in Christian antiquity: a heretical and an orthodox.

The heretical asceticism, the beginnings of which are resisted in the New Testament itself,² meets us in the Gnostic and Manichaean sects. It is descended from Oriental and Platonic heathenism, and is based on a dualistic view of the world, a confusion of sin with matter, and a perverted idea of God and the creation. It places God and the world at irreconcilable enmity, derives the creation from an inferior being, considers the human body substantially evil, a product of the devil or the demiurge,

¹ Epist. LXII.

² 1 Tim. iv. 3. Col. ii. 16 sqq. Comp Rom. xiv

and makes it the great moral business of man to rid himself of the same, or gradually to annihilate it, whether by excessive abstinence or by unbridled indulgence. Many of the Gnostics placed the fall itself in the first gratification of the sexual desire, which subjected man to the dominion of the Hyle.

The orthodox or catholic asceticism proceeds upon Christian views, and upon a literal and overstrained construction of certain passages of scripture. It admits that all nature is the work of God and the object of his love, and asserts the divine origin and destiny of the human body, without which there could, in fact, be no resurrection, and hence no admittance to eternal glory. It therefore aims not to mortify the body, but perfectly to control and sanctify it. For the metaphysical dualism between spirit and matter, it substitutes the ethical conflict between the spirit and the flesh. But in practice it exceeds the simple and sound limits of the Bible, falsely substitutes the bodily appetites and affections, or sensuous nature, as such, for the flesh, or the principle of selfishness, which resides in the soul as well as the body; and thus, with all its horror of heresy, really joins in the Gnostic and Manichaean hatred of the body as the prison of the spirit. This comes out especially in the depreciation of marriage and the family life, that divinely appointed nursery of church and state, and in excessive self-inflictions, to which the apostolic piety affords not the remotest parallel. The heathen Gnostic principle of separation from the world and from the body¹ as a means of self-redemption, after being theoretically exterminated, stole into the church by a back door of practice, directly in face of the Christian doctrine of the high destiny of the body and perfect redemption through Christ.

The Alexandrian fathers first furnished a theoretical basis for this asceticism in the distinction, suggested even by the Pastor Hermas,² of a lower and a higher morality; a distinction, which,

¹ Entweltlichung and Entleiblichung.

² Simil. V. 3 (p. 492, ed. Dressel): Si autem praeter ea quae mandavit Dominus aliquid boni adjeceris, majorem dignitatem tibi conquires, et honoratior apud Dominum eris, quam eras futurus.

like that introduced at the same period by Tertullian, of mortal and venial sins,¹ gave rise to many practical errors, and favored both moral laxity and ascetic extravagance. The ascetics, and afterwards the monks, formed a moral nobility, a spiritual aristocracy, above the common Christian people; as the clergy stood in a separate caste of inviolable dignity above the laity. Clement of Alexandria, otherwise remarkable for his elevated ethical views, requires of the Christian sage or gnostic, that he excel the plain Christian not only by higher knowledge, but also by higher, emotionless virtue, and stoical superiority to all bodily conditions; and he inclines to regard the body, with Plato, as the grave and fetter² of the soul. How little he understood the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, may be inferred from a passage in the Stromata, where he explains the word of Christ: "Thy faith hath saved thee," as referring, not to faith simply without good works, but to the Jews only, who lived according to the law; as if faith was something to be added to the good works, instead of being the source and principle of the holy life.³ Origen⁴ goes still further, and propounds quite distinctly the catholic doctrine of works of supererogation,⁵ works not enjoined indeed in the gospel, yet recommended,⁶ which were supposed to establish a peculiar merit and secure a

¹ Peccata irremissibilia and remissibilia, or mortalia and venialia.

² Τάφος, δεσμός.

³ Strom. VI. 14, 108: 'Η πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε (Marc. V. 34), οὐχ ἀπαλῶς τοὺς ὁπώσων πιστεύοντας σωθήσεσθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐκδεχόμεθαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπακολουθήσῃ· αὐτίκα Ἰουδαίους μόνοις ταύτην ἔλεγε τὴν φωνὴν τοῖς νομικοῖς καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως βεβιωκόσιν· οἷς μόνον ἢ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ὑπελείπετο πίστις.

⁴ In ep. ad Rom. c. iii. ed. de la Rue iv. p. 507: Donec quis hoc tantum facit, quod *debet*, i. e. quae praecepta sunt, inutilis servus. Si autem *addas* aliquid ad praeceptum, tunc non jam inutilis servus eris, sed dicetur ad te: Euge serve bone et fidelis. Quid autem sit quod addatur praeceptis et *supra debitum* fiat, Paulus ap. dixit: De virginibus autem *praeceptum* Domini non habeo, *consilium* autem do, tamquam misericordiam assecutus a Domino (1 Cor. vii. 25). Hoc opus *super praeceptum* est. Et iterum *praeceptum* est, ut hi qui evangelium nunciant, de evangelio vivant. Paulus autem dicit, quia nullo horum usus sum: et *ideo* non inutilis erit servus, sed fidelis et prudens.

⁵ Opera supererogatoria.

⁶ Matt. xix. 21. Luke xxiv. 26. 1 Cor. vii. 8 sq. 25. Hence *consilia* evangelica, n. distinction from *praecepta*.

higher degree of blessedness. He who does only what is required of all, is an unprofitable servant;¹ but he who does more, who performs, for example, what Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 25, merely recommends, concerning the single state, or, like him, resigns his just claim to temporal remuneration for spiritual service, is called a good and faithful servant.² Among these works were reckoned martyrdom,³ voluntary poverty, and voluntary celibacy. All three, or at least the last two of these acts, in connexion with the positive Christian virtues, belong to the idea of the higher perfection, as distinguished from the fulfilment of regular duties, or ordinary morality. To poverty and celibacy was afterwards added absolute obedience; and these three things were the main subjects of the *consilia evangelica* and the monastic vow.

§ 95. *Voluntary Poverty and Celibacy.*

The ground on which these particular virtues were so strongly urged is easily understood. Property, which is so closely allied to the selfishness of man and binds him to the earth; and sexual intercourse, which brings out sensual passion in its greatest strength, and which nature herself covers with the veil of modesty;—these present themselves as the firmest obstacles to that perfection, in which God alone is our possession, and Christ alone our love and delight.

In these things the ancient heretics went to the extreme. The Ebionites made poverty the condition of salvation. The Gnostics, as already remarked, were divided between the two excesses of absolute self-denial and unbridled self-indulgence. The Marcionites, Carpocratians, Prodicians, false Basilidians, and Manichaeans objected to individual property, from hatred to the material world; and Epiphaneus, in a book “on Justice” about 125, defined virtue as a community with equality, and advocated the community of goods and women. The more earnest of these heretics entirely prohibited marriage and procreation as a dia-

¹ Luke xvii. 10.

² Matt. xxv. 21.

³ Comp. § 58 and 59.

bolical work, as in the case of Saturninus, Marcion, and the Encratites; while other Gnostic sects substituted for it the most shameless promiscuous intercourse, as in Carpocrates, Epiphanes, and the Nicolaitans.

The ancient church, on the contrary, held to the divine institution of property and marriage, and was content to recommend the voluntary renunciation of these intrinsically lawful pleasures to the few elect, as means of attaining Christian perfection. She declared marriage holy, virginity more holy. But unquestionably even the church fathers so exalted the higher holiness of virginity, as practically to neutralize, or at least seriously weaken, their assertion of the holiness of marriage. The Roman church, in spite of the many Bible examples of married men of God from Abraham to Peter, can conceive no real holiness without celibacy, and therefore requires celibacy of its clergy without exception.

The recommendation of voluntary poverty was based on a literal interpretation of the Lord's advice to the rich young ruler, who had kept all the commandments from his youth up: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me."¹ To this were added the actual examples of the poverty of Christ and his apostles, and the community of goods in the first Christian church at Jerusalem. Many Christians, not of the ascetics only, but also of the clergy, like Cyprian, accordingly gave up all their property at their conversion, for the benefit of the poor. The later monastic societies sought to represent in their community of goods the original equality and the perfect brotherhood of men. Yet on the other hand, Clement of Alexandria, for example, in a special treatise on the right use of wealth,² observes, that the Saviour forbade not so much the possession of earthly property, as the love of it and desire for it; and that it is possible to retain the latter, even though the possession itself be renounced. The earthly, says he, is a mate-

¹ Matt. xix. 21.

² Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος.

rial and a means for doing good, and the unequal distribution of property is a divine provision for the exercise of Christian love and beneficence. The true riches are the virtue, which can and should maintain itself under all outward conditions; the false are the mere outward possession, which comes and goes.

The old catholic exaggeration of celibacy attached itself to four passages of scripture, viz. Matt. xix. 12; xxii. 30; 1 Cor. vii. 7 sqq.; and Rev. xiv. 4; but it went far beyond them, and unconsciously admitted influences from foreign modes of thought. The words of the Lord in Matt. xxii. 30, Luke xx. 35 sq., were most frequently cited; but they expressly limit unmarried life to the angels, without setting it up as the model for men. Rev. xiv. 4 was taken by some of the fathers more correctly in the symbolical sense of freedom from the pollution of idolatry. The example of Christ, though often urged, cannot here furnish a rule; for the Son of God and Saviour of the world, was too far above all the daughters of Eve, to find an equal companion among them, and in any case cannot be conceived as holding such relations. The whole church of the redeemed is his pure bride. Of the apostles some at least were married, and among them Peter, the oldest and most prominent of all. The advice of Paul in 1 Cor. vii. is so cautiously given, that even here the view of the fathers found but partial support; especially if balanced with the Pastoral Epistles, where monogamy is presented as the proper condition for the clergy. Nevertheless he was frequently made the apologist of celibacy by orthodox and heretical writers.¹ Judaism—with the exception of the paganizing Essenes, who abstained from marriage—highly honors the family life; it allows marriage even to the priests and the high-priests, who had in fact to maintain their order by physical

¹ Thus, for example, in the rather worthless apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, which are first mentioned by Tertullian (*De baptismo* c. 17, as the production of a certain Asiatic presbyter), and must therefore have existed in the second century. There Paul is made to say: Μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ Θεός . . . μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν ζωὴν . . . μακάριοι τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ οὕτως ἀπολάβουσιν τὴν μεθυσιν τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ζωῆς. See Tischendorf: *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. Lips. 1851. p. 42 sq.

reproduction; it considers unfruitfulness a disgrace or a curse. Heathenism, on the contrary, just because of its own degradation of woman, and its low, sensual conception of marriage, frequently includes celibacy in its ideal of morality, and associates it with worship. The noblest form of heathen virginity appears in the six Vestal virgins in Rome, who, while girls of from six to ten years, were selected for the service of the pure goddess, and set to keep the holy fire burning on its altar; but, after serving thirty years, were allowed to return to secular life and marry. The penalty for breaking their vow of chastity was to be buried alive in the *campus sceleratus*.

The ascetic depreciation of marriage is thus due, at least in part, to the influence of heathenism. But with this was associated the Christian enthusiasm for angelic purity in opposition to the horrible licentiousness of the Graeco-Roman world. It was long before Christianity raised woman and the family life to the purity and dignity which became them in the kingdom of God. In this view we may the more easily account for many expressions of the church fathers respecting the female sex, and warnings against intercourse with women, which to us, in the present state of European and American civilization, sound perfectly coarse and unchristian. John of Damascus has collected in his *Parallels* such patristic expressions as these: "A woman is an evil." "A rich woman is a double evil." "A beautiful woman is a whited sepulchre." "Better is a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness." The men who could write so, must have forgotten the beautiful passages to the contrary in the proverbs of Solomon and Sirach; they must have forgotten their own mothers.

The excessive regard for celibacy and the accompanying depreciation of marriage date from about the middle of the second century, and reach their height in the Nicene age.

Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, expresses himself as yet very moderately: "If any one can remain in chastity of the flesh to the glory of the Lord of the flesh (or, according to another reading, of the flesh of the Lord), let him remain thus without

boasting:¹ if he boast, he is lost, and if it be made known, beyond the bishop,² he is ruined." What a stride from this to the obligatory celibacy of the clergy! Yet the admonition leads us to suppose, that celibacy was thus early, in the beginning of the second century, in many cases boasted of as meritorious, and allowed to nourish spiritual pride. Ignatius is the first to call voluntary virgins brides of Christ and jewels of Christ.

Justin Martyr goes further. He points to many Christians of both sexes who lived to a great age unpolluted; and he desires celibacy to prevail to the greatest possible extent. He refers to the example of Christ, and expresses the singular opinion, that the Lord was born of a virgin only to put a limit to sensual desire, and to show that God could produce without the sexual agency of man. His disciple Tatian ran even to the Gnostic extreme upon this point, and, in a lost work on Christian perfection, condemned conjugal cohabitation as a fellowship of corruption destructive of prayer. At the same period Athenagoras wrote, in his *Apology*: "Many may be found among us, of both sexes, who grow old unmarried, full of hope that they are in this way more closely united to God."

Clement of Alexandria is the most reasonable of all the fathers in his views on this point. He considers eunuchism a special gift of divine grace, but without yielding it on this account preference above the married state. On the contrary, he vindicates with great decision the moral dignity and sanctity of marriage against the heretical extravagances of his time, and lays down the general principle, that Christianity stands not in outward observances, enjoyments, and privations, but in righteousness and peace of heart. Of the Gnostics he says, that, under the fair name of abstinence, they act impiously towards the creation and the holy Creator, and repudiate marriage and pro-

¹ Ἐν ἀκαυχῆσθαι μέντω.

² Ἐάν τις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, according to the larger Greek recension, c. 5. with which the Syriac (c. 2) and Armenian versions agree. But the shorter Greek recension reads πέντε for πέντε, which would give the sense: "If he think himself (on that account) above the (married) bishop; si majorem se episcopo censent."

creation on the ground that a man should not introduce others into the world to their misery, and provide new nourishment for death. He justly charges them with inconsistency in despising the ordinances of God and yet enjoying the nourishment created by the same hand, breathing his air, and abiding in his world. He rejects the appeal to the example of Christ, because Christ needed no help, and because the church is his bride. The apostles also he cites against the impugnors of marriage. Peter and Philip begot children; Philip gave his daughters in marriage; and even Paul hesitated not to speak of a female companion (rather only of his right to lead about such an one, as well as Peter). We seem translated into an entirely different Protestant atmosphere, when in this genial writer we read: The perfect Christian, who has the apostles for his patterns, proves himself truly a man in this, that he chooses not a solitary life, but marries, begets children, cares for the household, yet under all the temptations which his care for wife and children, domestics and property presents, swerves not from his love to God, and as a Christian householder exhibits a miniature of the all-ruling Providence.

But how little such views agreed with the spirit of that age, we see in Clement's own stoical and Platonizing conception of the sensual appetites, and still more in his great disciple Origen, who voluntarily disabled himself in his youth, and could not think of the act of generation as anything but polluting. Hieracas, who also perhaps belonged to the Alexandrian school, is said to have carried his asceticism to a heretical extreme, and to have declared virginity a condition of salvation. Methodius was an opponent of the spiritualistic, but not of the ascetic Origen, and wrote an enthusiastic plea for virginity, founded on the idea of the church as the pure, unspotted, ever young, and ever beautiful bride of God. Yet, quite remarkably, in his "Feast of the Ten Virgins," the virgins express themselves respecting the sexual relations with a minuteness which, to our modern taste, is extremely indelicate and offensive.

As to the Latin fathers: The views of Tertullian for and

against marriage, particularly against second marriage, we have already noticed.¹ His disciple Cyprian differs from him in his ascetic principles only by greater moderation in expression, and, in his treatise *De habitu virginum*, commends the unmarried life on the ground of Matt. xix. 12, 1 Cor. vii., and Rev. xiv. 4.

Celibacy was most common with pious virgins, who married themselves only to God or to Christ,² and in the spiritual delights of this heavenly union found abundant compensation for the pleasures of earthly matrimony. But cases were not rare where sensuality, thus violently suppressed, asserted itself under other forms; as, for example, in indolence and ease at the expense of the church, which Tertullian finds it necessary to censure; or in the vanity and love of dress, which Cyprian rebukes; and, worst of all, in a venture of asceticism, which probably often enough resulted in failure, or at least filled the imagination with impure thoughts. Many of these heavenly brides³ lived with male ascetics, and especially with unmarried clergymen, under pretext of a purely spiritual fellowship, in so intimate intercourse as to put their continence to the most perilous test, and wantonly challenge temptation, from which we should rather pray to be kept. This unnatural and shameless practice was probably introduced by the Gnostics; Irenaeus at least charges it upon them. The first trace of it in the church appears, though under a rather innocent allegorical form, in the Pastor Hermas, which originated from the Roman church.⁴ It is next mentioned in the

¹ See § 91.

² *Nuptae Deo, Christo.*

³ Ἀδελφαί, sorores (1 Cor. ix. 5); afterwards cleverly called γυναῖκες συνείσακτο. mulieres subintroductae, extraneae.

⁴ Simil. IX. c. 11 (in Dressel, p. 627). The virgines, who doubtless symbolically represent the Christian graces (fides, abstinencia, potestas, patientia, simplicitas, innocentia, castitas, hilaritas, veritas, intelligentia, concordia, and caritas, comp. c. 15), there say to Hermas, when he proposes an evening walk: Οὐ δύνασαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρεῖσαι . . . Μὲν γὰρ κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφὴ, καὶ σὺ γ' ὡς ἀνὴρ. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀδελφὴς εἴμεθα. Καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σὺ κατὰκτεῖν, διὰ τὸ γὰρ σε ἀγαπᾶμεν. Then the first of these virgins, *fides*, comes to the blushing Hermas, and begins to kiss him. The others do the same; they lead him to the tower (symbol of the church), and sport with him. When night comes on, they retire together to rest, with singing and prayer; καὶ ἔμεινα, he continues, μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τῶν ἑταίρων. Ἐπειτα οἱ ἄλλοι παρθένοι τοὺς λοιποὺς χιτῶνας ἐκείνους χύσαντες, καὶ ἐν ἀνύδαντι εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν ἑστηκότες

Pseudo-Clementine Epistles ad Virgines. In the third century it prevailed widely in the East and West. The worldly-minded bishop Paulus of Antioch, favored it by his own example. Cyprian of Carthage came out earnestly,¹ and with all reason, against the vicious practice, in spite of the solemn protestation of innocence by these sorores, and their appeal to investigations through midwives. Several councils, at Elvira, Ancyra, Nice, &c., felt called upon to forbid this pseudo-ascetic scandal. Yet the intercourse of clergy with "*mulieres subintroductae*" rather increased than diminished with the increasing stringency of the celibate laws, and has at all times more or less disgraced the Romish priesthood.

§ 96. *Celibacy of the Clergy.*

Comp. J. ANT. & AUG. THEINER (R. C.); Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den Geistlichen u. ihre Folgen. Oldenb. 1823, 2 vols.

As the clergy were supposed to embody the moral ideal of Christianity, and to be in the full sense of the term the heritage of God,² they were required to practise especially rigid sexual temperance after receiving their ordination. The virginity of the church of Christ, who was himself born of a virgin, seemed, in the ascetic spirit of the age, to demand a virgin priesthood. In the present period, however, this celibacy did not become a matter of law, but was left optional, like the vow of chastity among the laity. In the Pastoral Epistles of Paul a single marriage, if not expressly enjoined, is at least allowed to the presbyter-bishop, and is presumed to exist as the rule. The first step was the disapproval of *second* marriage; the passages, 1 Tim. iii. 2 and Tit. i. 6, being taken as a restriction, and as prohibiting successive polygamy. Yet so late as the beginning of the third century, there were many clergymen in the Catholic church

ὁλος ἐπείουν εἰ μὴ ποιεῖν ἡγουται· καὶ γὰρ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως προσηυχόμενοι. It can hardly be conceived, that the apostolic Hermas wrote such silly stuff. It sounds much more like a later Hermas towards the middle of the second century. Comp. below, § 121

¹ Ep. LXII. also V. and VI.

² Κληρὸς θεοῦ.

who were married a second time. This appears from the accusation of Tertullian, who asks the Catholics, with Montanistic indignation: "Quot enim et bigami præsident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo? . . . Digamus tinguis? digamus offers?" Second marriage thus seems to him to disqualify for the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. Hippolytus, in the *Philosophoumena*, reproaches the Roman bishop Callistus with admitting to sacerdotal and episcopal office those who were married the second and even the third time, and allowing the clergy to marry after having been ordained.

The next step was the disapproval of even one marriage for the clergy; but not yet the prohibition of it. The priesthood and marriage became more and more incompatible in the prevailing view. The Montanists shared in this feeling; among the oracles of the prophetess Prisca is one to the effect: "Only a holy (that is an unmarried) minister can administer in holy things."¹ Even those fathers who were married, like the presbyter Tertullian and the bishop Gregory of Nyssa, give decided preference to virginity. The Apostolical Constitutions and some provincial councils accordingly prohibited priests not only from marrying a widow, or a divorced woman, or a slave, and from second marriage, but also from contracting marriage after ordination. The synod of Ancyra, in 314, allowed it to deacons, but only when they expressly stipulated for it before taking orders. The rigoristic Spanish council of Elvira (Illiberis), in 305, went farthest. It appears even to have forbidden the continuance of nuptial intercourse after consecration, upon pain of deposition.² The ecumenical council of Nice, in 325, to antici-

¹ Tertull. *De exhort. cast.* c. 10: Sanctus minister sanctimoniam novit ministrare. That abstinence from all carnal intercourse is implied in the conception of sanctity, seems to follow from the connexion.

² Can. 33: Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconibus, vel omnibus clericis positus in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, et non generare filios; quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur. Some, however, on account of the words *positus in ministerio*, would see here only a prohibition of sexual commerce at the time of the performance of clerical functions, as in the Jew

pate this result here, proposed to make celibacy of priests the universal law of the church, but was prevented by the protest of the venerable Egyptian bishop and confessor Paphnutius, who, though himself a strict ascetic,¹ and trained from his youth in an ascetic school,² still foresaw, with true eye, the injurious moral consequences of such coercion. And thus the movement stopped for the present with the decrees of the Apostolical constitutions, forbidding marriage after ordination, without dissolving marriages contracted before it.

The Greek church, after the seventh century, limited the law of celibacy to bishops, and made a single marriage the rule for priests and deacons; while in the Latin church the ascetic principle, in connexion with the interests of hierarchy, advanced as early as the fourth century to the absolute prohibition of marriage for the clergy, and in this way enhanced the official power of the priesthood, but by no means elevated its moral purity and dignity. For while voluntary abstinence, or such as springs from a special gift of grace, is honorable and may be a great blessing to the church, the forced celibacy of the clergy does violence to nature and Scripture, and, all sacramental ideas of marriage to the contrary notwithstanding, degrades this divine ordinance, which descends from the primeval state of innocence and symbolizes the holiest of all relations, the union of Christ with his church. Much, therefore, as Catholicism has done to raise woman and the family life from heathen degradation, we still find, in general, that in Evangelical Protestant countries, where the marriage of the clergy has become the rule, particularly in Germany, England, and North America, woman occupies a far higher grade of intellectual and moral culture, and the married life is *practically* regarded as far more sacred than in Southern Europe and South America.

ish law; but this does not agree with the otherwise evident Montanistic and Novatian rigorism of this council. The *positis in min.* also seems to refer only to *clericis*, that is, in distinction from the officers just specified, to subdiaconi and other *ordines minores*.

¹ Ἀπειρος ὦν γάμου καὶ ἄπλῶς εἰπεῖν γυναικός, says Socrates.

² Ἀσκητήριον.

§ 97. *Montanism.*

- I. TERTULLIAN, in his numerous Montanistic writings. EUSEB.: H. E. V. 3 14-19. EPIPHAN.: Haer. 48 and 49.
- II. G. WERNSDORF: *De Montanistis*, Gedani, 1741. F. MÜNTER: *Effata et oracula Montanistar*. Havn. 1829. NEANDER: *Antignosticus oder Geist aus Tertullian's Schriften*, Berl. 1825 (2d ed. 1847). SCHWEGLER: *Der Montanismus u. die christl. Kirche des 2ten Jahrh.* Tüb. 1841 (an artificial and arbitrary a-priori construction of history). BAUR: *Das Wesen des Montanismus nach den neusten Forschungen*, in the *Theol. Jahrbücher*. Tüb. 1851 (comp. his *Christenth. der 3 ersten Jahrh.*, p. 213-224) NIEDNER: *K. Gesch.* 253 sqq. 259 sqq. RITSCHL: *Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*, 2d ed. 1857, p. 402-550.

All the ascetic and rigoristic elements of the ancient church combined in Montanism. They here asserted a claim to universal validity, which the catholic church was compelled, for her own interest, to reject; since she left the effort after extraordinary holiness to the comparatively small circle of ascetics and priests, and sought rather to lighten Christianity, than add to its weight, for the great mass of its professors. Here is the place, therefore, to speak of this remarkable phenomenon, and not under the head of doctrine, where it is commonly placed. For Montanism was not, originally, a departure from the faith, but a morbid overstraining of the practical morality of the early church. It is the first example of an earnest and well meaning, but gloomy and fanatical hyperchristianity, which, like all hyperspiritualism, ends again in the flesh.

1. To speak first of the external history of Montanism: It originated in Asia Minor, the theatre of many movements of the church in this period; and in the province of Phrygia, once the home of a sensuously mystic and dreamy nature-religion. The movement was started after the middle of the second century by a certain Montanus, probably at first a priest of Cybele, with no special talents nor culture, but burning with fanatical zeal. He fell into somnambulistic ecstasies, and considered himself the inspired organ of the Paraclete promised by Christ, of the Helper

and Comforter in these last times of distress. Some church fathers wrongly inferred from the use of the first person for the Holy Ghost in his oracles, that he made himself directly the Paraclete, or, according to Epiphanius, even God the Father. Connected with him were two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla. During the bloody persecutions under Marcus Aurelius, all three went forth as prophets and reformers of the Christian life, and proclaimed the near approach of the age of the Holy Ghost and of the millennial reign in Pepuza, a village of Phrygia, upon which the new Jerusalem was to come down. The frantic movement soon far exceeded the intention of its authors, and threw the whole church into commotion.

The bishops and synods of Asia Minor, though not with one voice, declared the new prophecy the work of demons, and cut off the Montanists—also called Priscillianists, Cataphrygians, Pepuzians—from the fellowship of the church. Among their literary opponents in the East are mentioned Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Miltiades, Apollonius, Serapion of Antioch, and Clement of Alexandria.

The Roman church, likewise, during the episcopate of Eleutherus (177–190) or of Victor (190–202), after some vacillation, set itself against them at the instigation of the presbyter Caius and the confessor Praxeas.¹ Yet the opposition of Hippolytus to Zephyrinus and Callistus and the later Novatian schism shows that the disciplinary rigorism of Montanism found energetic advocates in Rome till after the middle of the third century.

The Gallic Christians, Irenaeus at their head, took a conciliatory posture, and sympathized at least with the moral earnestness, the enthusiasm for martyrdom, and the chiliastic hopes of the Montanists. They sent the presbyter Irenaeus to bishop Eleutherus at Rome to intercede in their behalf, and this mission may have induced him or his successor to issue letters of peace, which were, however, soon afterwards recalled.²

¹ Comp. § 52.

² This is, however, merely a conjecture. For Tertullian, who mentions these “*litteras pacis jam emissas*” in favor of the Montanists in Asia (Adv. Prax. 1), leaves

In North Africa they met with extensive sympathy, as the Punic national character leans naturally towards gloomy and rigorous acerbity.¹ Here especially the genial, but eccentric and rigoristic Tertullian became, from the year 201, a most energetic and influential advocate of Montanism, and helped its dark feeling towards a twilight of philosophy. He is the proper and only theologian of this schismatic movement, which started in purely practical questions, and we derive the best of our knowledge of it from his works. Through him, too, its principles reacted in many respects on the Catholic church; and that not only in North Africa, but also in Spain, as we may see from the harsh decrees of the council of Elvira in 203. It is singular that Cyprian, who with all his high church tendencies and abhorrence of schism was a daily reader of Tertullian, makes no allusion to Montanism. Augustine² relates that Tertullian left the Montanists and founded a new sect which was called after him, but was, through his (Augustine's) agency, reconciled to the Catholic congregation of Carthage.

As a separate sect the Montanists or Tertullianists, as they were also called in Africa, run down into the sixth century. The successors of Constantine, down to Justinian, 530, repeatedly enacted laws against them.

2. We pass now to the internal character of Montanism.

In doctrine it agreed in all essential points with the Catholic church, and held very firmly to the traditional rule of faith.³ Infant baptism only it seems to have rejected, or at least discountenanced, though on grounds very different from those of the later Baptists; namely, the assumption, that mortal sins

us in the dark as to the name of the episcopus Romanus from whom they proceeded and by whom they were recalled, and as to the cause of this temporary favor.

¹ This disposition, an ἰσχυρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, and ———, even Plutarch notices in the Carthaginians (in his *Πολιτικά παροιγόμενα*, c. 3), and contrasts with the excitable and cheerful character of the Athenians.

² De haeresibus, § 6.

³ This was acknowledged by its opponents. Epiphanius, Haer. XLVIII. 1, says, the Cataphrygians receive the entire Scripture of the Old and New Testament, and agree with the holy Catholic church in their views on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

could not be forgiven after baptism. Through Tertullian it contributed to the development of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, in asserting against Patripassianism the personal distinction in God, and the import of the Holy Ghost. Its views were rooted neither, like Ebionism, in Judaism, nor, like Gnosticism, in Heathenism, but in Christianity; and its errors consist in a morbid exaggeration of Christian ideas and demands. Tertullian says, that the administratio Paracleti consists only in the reform of discipline, in deeper understanding of the Scriptures, and in effort after higher perfection; that it has the same faith, the same God, the same Christ, and the same sacraments with the Catholics. The sect combated the Gnostic heresy with all decision; and forms the exact counterpart of that system, placing Christianity chiefly in practical life instead of theoretical speculation, and looking for the consummation of the kingdom of God on this earth, though not till the millennium, instead of transferring it into an abstract ideal world. Yet between these two systems, as always between opposite extremes, there were also points of contact; a common antagonism, for example, to the present order of the world, and the distinction of a pneumatic and a psychical church.

But in the field of practical life and discipline this Montanistic movement came into conflict with the reigning Catholicism; and this conflict, consistently carried out, must of course show itself to some extent in the province of doctrine. Every schismatic tendency becomes in its progress more or less heretical.

Montanism, in the first place, sought a forced continuance of the miraculous gifts of the apostolic church, which gradually disappeared as Christianity became settled in humanity, and its supernatural principle naturalized on earth.¹ It asserted, above all, the continuance of prophecy, and hence it went generally under the name of the *nova prophetia*. But the pretended prophecy appeared only in the form of a morbid ecstasy and frenzy, and sometimes fell to the level of the heathen divination. Tertullian

¹ In this point, as in others, Montanism bears a striking affinity to Irvingism.

calls it an "amentia," an "excidere sensu," and describes it in a way which irresistibly reminds one of the phenomena of magnetic clairvoyance. Montanus compares a man in the ecstasy with a musical instrument, on which the Holy Ghost plays his melodies. "Behold,"—says he in one of his oracles, in the name of the Paraclete—"the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as a plectrum. The man sleeps; I wake. Behold, it is the Lord, who puts the hearts of men out of themselves,¹ and who gives hearts to men." As to its matter, the Montanistic prophecy related to the approaching heavy judgments of God, the persecutions, the millennium, fasting, and other ascetic exercises, which were to be enforced as laws of the church. Tertullian conceived religion as a process of development, which he illustrated by the analogy of organic growth in nature. He distinguishes in this process four stages:—(1.) Natural religion, or the innate idea of God; (2.) the legal religion of the Old Testament; (3.) the gospel during the earthly life of Christ; and (4.) the revelation of the Paraclete; that is, the spiritual religion of the Montanists, who accordingly called themselves the *πνευματικοί* or the spiritualis ecclesia, in distinction from the psychical Catholic church. This is the first instance of a theory of development which assumes an advance beyond the New Testament and the Christianity of the apostles; misapplying the parables of the mustard seed and the leaven, and Paul's doctrine of the growth of the church *in* Christ and his word, not *beyond* them. Tertullian, however, was by no means rationalistic in his view. On the contrary, he demanded for all new revelations the closest agreement with the traditional faith of the church, the *regula fidei*, which, in a genuine Montanistic work, he terms "*immobilis et irreformabilis*." The Catholic church did not deny, indeed, the continuance of prophecy and the other apostolic gifts,² but was disposed, at least from the beginning of the third century, to derive the Montanistic revelations from satanic inspiration,³ and mistrusted them all the more, for their proceeding

ἐκστασις.

² Comp. § 66, p. 204 sq.

³ Tert. De jejun. 11: Spiritus diaboli est, dicis o psychice. Tertullian himself, however, always occupied an honorable rank among the church teachers.

not from the regular clergy, but in great part from unauthorized laymen and fanatical women.

This brings us to another feature of the Montanistic movement, the assertion of the universal prophetic and priestly office of Christians, even of females, against the special priesthood in the Catholic church. Under this view it may be called a democratic reaction against the clerical aristocracy, which from the time of Ignatius had more and more monopolized all ministerial privileges and functions. The Montanists found the true qualification and appointment for the office of teacher in direct endowment by the Spirit of God, in distinction from outward ordination and episcopal succession. They everywhere proposed the supernatural element and the free motion of the spirit against the mechanism of a fixed ecclesiastical order. Here was the point where they necessarily assumed a schismatic character, and arrayed against themselves the episcopal hierarchy. But they only brought another kind of aristocracy into the place of the condemned distinction of clergy and laity. They claimed for their prophets what they denied to the Catholic bishops. They put a great gulf between the true spiritual Christians and the merely psychical; and this induced spiritual pride and false pietism. Their affinity with the Protestant idea of the universal priesthood is more apparent than real; they go on altogether different principles.

Another of the essential and prominent traits of Montanism was a visionary millenarianism, founded indeed on the Apocalypse and on the apostolic expectation of the speedy return of Christ, but giving them extravagant weight and a materialistic coloring. The Montanists lived under a vivid impression of the great final catastrophe, and looked therefore with contempt upon the present world, and directed all their desires to the second advent of Christ. Maximilla says: "After me there is no more prophecy, but only the end of the world." The failure of these predictions weakened, of course, all the other pretensions of the system. But, on the other hand, the abatement of faith in the near approach of the Lord was certainly accompanied with an increase of worldliness in the Catholic church.

Finally, the Montanistic sect was characterized by fanatical severity in asceticism and church discipline. It raised a zealous protest against the growing looseness of the Catholic penitential discipline,¹ which in Rome particularly, under Zephyrinus and Callistus, to the great grief of earnest minds, established a scheme of indulgence for the grossest sins, and began, long before Constantine, to obscure the line between the church and the world. Tertullian makes the restoration of a rigorous discipline the chief office of the new prophecy.² But Montanism certainly went to the opposite extreme, and fell from evangelical freedom into Jewish legalism. It turned with horror from all the enjoyments of life, and held even art to be incompatible with Christian soberness and humility. It forbade women all ornamental clothing, and required virgins to be veiled. It courted the blood-baptism of martyrdom, and condemned concealment or flight in persecution as a denial of Christ. It multiplied fasts and other ascetic exercises, and carried them to extreme severity, as the best preparation for the millennium. It prohibited second marriage as adultery, for laity as well as clergy, and inclined even to regard a single marriage as a mere concession on the part of God to the sensuous infirmity of man. It taught the impossibility of a second repentance, and refused to restore the lapsed to the fellowship of the church. Tertullian held all mortal sins (of which he numbers seven) committed after baptism to be unpardonable,³ at least in this world, and a church, which showed such lenity towards gross offenders, as the Roman church at that time did, according to the corroborating testimony of Hippolytus, he called worse than a "den of thieves," even a "spelunca moechorum et fornicatorum."⁴

¹ Comp. § 114.

² De monog. c. 2, he calls the Paraclete *novae disciplinae institutor*, but in c. 4 he says, correcting himself: Paracletus restitutor potius, quam institutor disciplinae.

³ Comp. De pud. c. 2 and 19.

⁴ De pudic. c. 1: Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum (so he calls, ironically, the Roman bishop; in all probability he refers to Zephyrinus), edicit: Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto. . . . Absit, absit a sponsa Christi tale praesentium! Illa, quae vera est, quae pudica, quae sancta, carebit etiam aurium

The Catholic church, indeed, as we have already seen, opened the door likewise to excessive ascetic rigor, but only as an exception to her rule; while the Montanists pressed their rigoristic demands as binding upon all. Such universal asceticism was simply impracticable in a world like the present, and the sect itself necessarily dwindled away. But the religious earnestness which animated it, and the fanatical extremes into which it ran, have since reappeared, under various names and forms, in Novatianism, Donatism, Anabaptism, the Camisard enthusiasm, Puritanism, Pietism, Irvingism, and so on, by way of protest and wholesome reaction against various evils in the church.

macula. Non habet quibus hoc repromittat, et si habuerit, non repromittit, quoniam et terrenum Dei templum citius spelunca latronum (Matt. xxi. 13) appellari potuit a Domino quam moechorum et fornicatorum.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

- I.** The richest sources here are works of JUSTIN M., TERTULLIAN, CYPRIAN, EUSEBIUS, and the so called CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICAE.
- II.** HILDEBRANDT: *De priscae et primitivae ecclesiae sacris publicis.* Helmst. 1702. ALT: *Der christl. Cultus*, Berl. I. 1851. HARNACK: *Der christl. Gemeindegottesdienst im apost. u. altkath. Zeitalter.* Erl. 1854. The relevant sections in the archaeological works of BINGHAM (*Origines eccles.*, or, the *Antiquities of the Christian Church.* Lond. 1708–22. 10 vols.; new ed. Lond. 1852, in 2 vols.), AUGUSTI (whose larger work fills 12 vols., Leipz. 1817–31, and his *Handbuch der Christl. Archaeol.* 3 vols. Leipz. 1836), BINTERIM (R. C.), RHEINWALD, SIEGEL, COLEMAN, &c.

§ 98. *Places of Common Worship.*

- R.** HOSPINIANUS: *De templis*, etc. Tig. 1603. FABRICIUS: *De templis vett. Christ.* Helmst. 1704. MURATORI (R. C.): *De primis Christianorum ecclesiis.* Arezzo, 1770. Comp. also, in part, the literature cited at § 93.

THE Christian worship, as might be expected from the servant-form of the church in this period of persecution, was very simple, strongly contrasting with the pomp of the later Catholicism, yet on the other hand not synonymous with puritanic meagreness and baldness. We perceive here, as well as in the organization of the church and the forms of her doctrine, the gradual and sure approach of the Nicene age.

Let us glance first at the places of public worship. Until about the close of the second century the Christians held their worship mostly in private houses,¹ or in desert places, at the graves of martyrs, and in the catacombs.² This arose from

¹ Comp. § 39.

² Comp. § 93.

their poverty, their oppressed and outlawed condition, their love of silence and solitude, and their aversion to all heathen art. The apologists frequently assert, that their brethren had neither temple nor altars—meaning a national sanctuary. Heathens, like Celsus, cast this up to them as a reproach; but Origen admirably replied: The humanity of Christ is the highest temple and the most beautiful image of God, and true Christians are living statues of the Holy Ghost, with which no Jupiter of Phidias can compare. Justin Martyr said to the Roman prefect. The Christians assemble wherever it is convenient, because their God is not, like the gods of the heathens, inclosed in space, but is invisibly present everywhere. Clement of Alexandria refutes the superstition, that religion is bound to any building.

In private houses the room best suited for worship and for the love-feast was the oblong dining-hall, the *triclinium*, which was never wanting in a convenient Greek or Roman dwelling, and which often had a semicircular niche, like the choir¹ in the later churches. An elevated seat² was used for reading the Scriptures and preaching, a basin of water for baptism, and a simple table³ for the holy communion. Similar arrangements were made also in the catacombs, which sometimes have the form of a subterranean church.

The first traces of special houses of worship⁴ occur in Tertullian, who speaks of going to the church,⁵ and in his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, who mentions the double meaning of the word ἐκκλησία.⁶ About the year 230, Alexander Severus granted the Christians the right to a place in Rome against the protest of the tavern-keepers, because the worship of God in any form was better than tavern-keeping. After the middle of the third century the building of churches began in great earnest, as the Christians had enjoyed over forty years of repose (260–303), and had so multiplied, that, according to Eusebius, more

¹ Chorus, θῆμα.

² Ἀμβων, suggestus, pulpitum.

³ Τράπεζα, mensa sacra; also ara, altare.

⁴ Ἐκκλησίαι, κυριακαί, οἶκοι Θεοῦ, ecclesiae, dominicae, domus Dei.

⁵ In ecclesiam, in domum Dei venire.

⁶ Τάσις and ἵεροςμα τῶν ἐλεγκτῶν.

spacious places of devotion became everywhere necessary. The Diocletian persecution began with the destruction of the magnificent church at Nicomedia, which, according to Laetantius, even towered above the neighboring imperial palace. Rome is supposed to have had, as early as the beginning of the fourth century, more than forty churches. But of the form and arrangement of them we have no account.

§ 99. *Weekly and Yearly Festivals.*

R. HOSPINIUS: *Festa Christ.*, h. e. de origine, progressu, ceremoniis et ritibus festorum dierum Christ. Tig. 1593, and often. A. G. PILLWITZ: *Gesch. der heil. Zeiten in der abendländ. Kirche*. Dresd. 1842. M. A. NICKEL (R. C.): *Die heil. Zeiten u. Feste nach ihrer Gesch. u. Feier in der kath. Kirche*. Mainz. 1825 sqq. 6 vols. F. PIPER: *Gesch. des Osterfestes*. Berl. 1845.

The *Easter controversies* are treated very thoroughly, and with reference to the Johannean controversy, by WEITZEL: *Die Christl. Passafeyer der drei ersten Jahrh.* Pforzheim, 1848 (and in the "*Stud. u. Krit.*" 1848, No. 4, against Baur). BAUR: *Das Christenth. der 3 ersten Jahrh.* 1853, p. 141 sqq. Against him, SEITZ, in the "*Stud. u. Krit.*" 1856, p. 721 sqq., and LECHLER: *Das apostol. u. nachapost. Zeitalter*, 1857, p. 509 sqq. The sources for these paschal controversies are fragments from *Melito*, *Apollinarius*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Irenaeus*, and *Hippolytus*, in Euseb. IV. 26, V. 23-25, and in the *Chronicon pasch.* I. 12 sqq.; to which must be added the passage in the recently discovered *Philosophoumena*, VII. 18.

1. The weekly festivals. The celebration of Sunday in memory of the resurrection of the Lord dates undoubtedly from the apostolic age.¹ It was at all events, according to the unanimous testimony of Barnabas, Ignatius, Pliny,² and Justin Martyr, a universal custom in the church at the beginning of the second century. On this day of holy joy there was no fasting, and the kneeling posture was exchanged for the standing in prayer. Tertullian appears to have considered attention to secular business on Sunday to be sin. The observance of the Sabbath among the Jewish Christians gradually ceased. Yet the eastern church to this day marks the seventh day of the week

¹ Comp. § 99.

² "Stato die," in his letter to Trajan.

(excepting only the Easter Sabbath) by omitting fasting and by standing in prayer; while the Latin church, in direct opposition to Judaism, made Saturday a fast day. The controversy on this point began as early as the end of the second century.

Wednesday,¹ and especially Friday,² were devoted to the weekly commemoration of the sufferings and death of the Lord, and observed as days of penance, or watch-days,³ with worship and half-fasting till three o'clock in the afternoon.⁴

2. The yearly festivals of this period were only Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany.

(a) Easter,⁵ or the Christian passover, is the oldest and most important annual feast of the church, and can be traced back into the first century. It answered to the Jewish passover, and was based on the view that Christ crucified and risen is the centre of faith. It formed at first the beginning of the church year. It had a wide scope in the early church, embracing both the feast of the crucifixion⁶ and the feast of the resurrection;⁷ corresponding to the Friday and Sunday among weekly festivals. Between the two lay the great Sabbath,⁸ on which also the Greek church fasted by way of exception; and the Easter vigils,⁹ which were kept, with special devotion, by the whole congregation, till the break of day; and kept the more scrupulously, as it was universally believed that the Lord's glorious return would occur on this night. The paschal feast was preceded by a season of penance and fasting, which culminated in the holy week.¹⁰ This fasting varied in length, in different countries, from one day or forty hours to six weeks; but after

¹ Feria quarta.

² Feria sexta, ἡ παρασκευή.

³ Dies stationum of the milites Christi.

⁴ Semiijejunia.

⁵ The English *Easter*, Anglo-Saxon *Oster*, German *Ostern*, is at all events connected with *East* and sunrise, and is akin to ἠώς, oriens, aurora (comp. Jac. Grimm's *Deutsche Mythol.* 1835, p. 181 and 349). The comparison of sunrise and the natural spring with the new moral creation in the resurrection of Christ, and the transfer of the celebration of Ostara, the old German divinity of the rising, health-bringing light, to the Christian Easter festival, was the easier, because all nature is a symbol of spirit, and the heathen myths are dim presentiments and carnal anticipations of Christian truths.

⁶ Πάσχα σταυρώσιμον.

⁷ Πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον.

⁸ Sabbatum magnum.

⁹ Παννυχίδες.

¹⁰ Ἑβδομάς μεγάλη.

the fifth century, through the influence of Rome, it was universally fixed at forty days,¹ with reference to the forty days' fasting of Christ in the wilderness,² and the Old Testament types of that event.

Respecting the *time* of Easter and of the fast connected with it, a difference prevailed, which in the second century gave rise to violent controversies in the church; and more recently has occasioned almost equally violent controversies in the school—in connexion with the questions of the primacy of Rome, and the genuineness of John's Gospel. The Christians of Asia Minor, following the Jewish chronology, and appealing to the authority of the apostles John and Philip, celebrated the Passover on the fourteenth of Nisan,³ fixed the close of the fast accordingly, and seem to have partaken on the evening of this day, after three o'clock, not indeed of the Jewish paschal lamb, as has sometimes been supposed, but of the communion and love-feasts, as the Christian passover and the festival of the redemption completed by the death of Christ.⁴ Hence they were afterwards called *Quartodecimani*, *Τεσσαρδεκαήμεροι*. The Roman church, on the contrary, according to early custom, celebrated the death of Jesus always on Friday, and his resurrection on a Sunday after the March full moon, and extended the fast to the latter day. The gist of the controversy, therefore, was, whether the Jewish paschal-day, be it a Friday or not, or the Christian Sunday, should control the idea and time of the entire festival. The Johannean practice of Asia represented here the spirit of adhesion to objective historical precedent; the Roman, the principle of freedom and discretionary change, and the independence of the Christian festival system towards the Jewish. Dogmatically stated, the difference would be, that in the former case the chief stress was laid on the Lord's death; in the latter, on his resur-

¹ Quadragesima.

² Matt. iv. 2.

³ The *α* = 14. Hence the sectarian name Quartodecimani.

⁴ From this it has been not unjustly inferred, that, according to the presumption of the Asiatic Christians, Christ died as the true paschal Lamb on the 14th, not on the 15th; that, consequently, this practice argues rather for than against the authenticity of John's Gospel, which likewise places the death on the 14th.

rection. But the leading interest of the question for the early church was not the astronomical, nor the dogmatical, but the ritual. The main object was to assert the originality of the Christian festival cycle, and its independence of Judaism; and on this account the Roman usage at last triumphed even in the east.

The difference came into discussion first on a visit of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to Anicet, bishop of Rome, about the year 160. It was not settled; yet the two bishops parted in peace, after the latter had charged his venerable guest to celebrate the holy communion in his church.

Soon after, about A.D. 170, the controversy broke out under another form, in Laodicea, where it seems a third usage had arisen, the Judaizing rite of eating the paschal lamb on the 14th of Nisan; though this was rejected even by the Asiatic bishops Melito of Sardis and Apollinaris of Hierapolis, on the ground that Jesus (according to the gospel of John) did not eat the legal passover, but died as the true paschal lamb. The same argument is urged in the fragments of Hippolytus. Thus, in order to harmonize the accounts—certainly very incomplete—in Eusebius and in the *chronicon paschale*, we have to distinguish two parties of Quartodecimanians; an orthodox party and a heretical—in this point Judaistic—one; the former of which was the more widely spread in Asia Minor, the latter limited to Laodicea.

Much more important and vehement was the third stage of the controversy, which extended over the whole church, and occasioned many synods and synodical letters. The Roman bishop Victor, a very different man from his predecessor Anicet, in 196 required the Asiatics, in an imperious tone, to abandon their quartodecimanian practice. Against this Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, solemnly protested in the name of a synod held by him, and appealed to an imposing array of authorities for their primitive custom. When Victor thereupon branded them as heretics, and threatened to excommunicate them, even Irenaeus, in the name of the Gallic Christians, though he agreed with Victor on the disputed point, earnestly admonished him for such

arrogance, and this protest appears to have prevented the excommunication.

In the course of the third century, however, the Roman practice gained ground in the east, and—to anticipate the result—was established by the council of Nice in 325 as the law of the whole church. This council considered it unbecoming in Christians to follow the usage of the unbelieving, hostile Jews, and ordained that Easter should always be celebrated on the Sunday which fell upon the first new moon after the vernal equinox, and always *after* the Jewish passover. Henceforth the Quartodecimans were universally regarded as heretics, and were punished as such. The desired uniformity, however, was still hindered by differences in reckoning the Easter Sunday according to the course of the moon and the equinox, which the Alexandrians fixed on the 21st of March, and the Romans on the 18th; so that, in the year 387, for example, the Romans kept Easter on the 21st of March, and the Alexandrians not till the 25th of April.

(b) Easter was followed by the festival of Pentecost, which likewise rested on Jewish precedent, and was universally observed as early as the second century in memory of the appearances and heavenly exaltation of the risen Lord. It lasted through fifty days—Quinquagesima—which were celebrated as a continuous Sunday, by daily communion, the standing posture in prayer, and the absence of all fasting. Subsequently the celebration was limited to the fortieth day as the feast of the Ascension, and the fiftieth, or Pentecost proper, as the feast of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and the birthday of the Christian church.

(c) The feast of the Epiphany is of later origin. It spread in the latter part of the second century from the east towards the west, but here, even in the fourth century, it was resisted by such parties as the Donatists, and condemned as an oriental innovation. It was, in general, the feast of the appearance¹ of Christ in the flesh, and particularly of the manifestation of his Messiahship by his baptism in the Jordan, the festival at once of his

¹ Ἐπιφανία.

birth and his baptism. It was usually kept on the 6th of January. In the west it was afterwards made a collective festival of several events in the life of Jesus, and, as the "feast of the three kings," that is, the wise men from the east, it was placed in special connexion with the mission to the heathen.

(d) Of the Christmas festival there is no clear trace before the fourth century; partly because the feast of the Epiphany in a measure held the place of it; partly because the birth of Christ, the date of which, at any rate, was uncertain, was less prominent in the Christian mind than his death and resurrection.

(e) The veneration for martyrs¹ was the first and the innocent occasion of the festivals of the saints; but these did not acquire a definite and settled form till the following period.

§ 100. *Christian Symbols.*

FR. MÜNTER: *Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* Altona, 1825. HELMSDÖRFER: *Christl. Kunstsymbolik u. Ikonographie.* Frkf. 1839. F. PIPER: *Mythologie u. Symbolik der christl. Kunst.* vol. I. Weimar, 1847-51. F. PIPER: *Ueber den christl. Bilderkreis.* Berl. 1852. (p. 3-10.) Comp. also the literature at § 93.

Christianity owed its origin neither to art nor to science, and is altogether independent of both. But it serves itself of both, penetrates and pervades them with its leaven-like nature, and baptizes them with the Holy Ghost. Art reaches its real perfection in worship, as an embodiment of religion and devotion in beautiful forms, which afford a pure pleasure, and at the same time excite and promote devotional feeling. Hence, in all civilized nations it stands united with religion. Poetry and music, the most free and spiritual arts, which present their ideals in word and tone, and lead immediately from the outward form to the spiritual substance, were an essential element of worship even in Judaism, and passed thence, in the singing of psalms, into the Christian church.

Not so with the plastic arts, especially sculpture and painting.

¹ Comp. § 59.


which employ grosser material, stone, wood, color, as the medium of representation, and, with a lower grade of culture, are almost inevitably perverted to idolatry. The ante-Nicene church had a decided aversion to these arts; in the first place, on account of the well known prohibition in the decalogue, and then on account of the degradation of art in that age to the service of idolatry and immorality. In the worship of God in spirit and in truth, also, it thought the symbols of the Jewish temple could be dispensed with, as mere shadows of the real good things now revealed. "We must not cleave to the sensible," says Clement of Alexandria, "but rise to the spiritual; the habit of daily view lowers the dignity of the divine, which cannot be honored, but is only degraded, by sensible material." This hostility to art, carried furthest by the rigoristic Montanists, was closely connected, too, with the servant-form of the early church, her thorough contempt for all hypocritical show and all earthly vanities, her enthusiasm for martyrdom, and her absorbing expectation of the speedy destruction of the world and establishment of the millennial kingdom.

Tertullian, and even Clement of Alexandria, supposed the external appearance of the Redeemer himself to have been ugly, according to a literal interpretation of the Messianic prophecy:¹ "He hath no form nor comeliness," &c. A true and healthy feeling leads rather to the opposite view; for Jesus certainly had not the physiognomy of a sinner, and the heavenly purity and harmony of his soul must in some way have shone through the veil of his flesh. Those fathers, however, had the state of humiliation alone in their eye. The exalted Redeemer they themselves viewed as clothed with unfading beauty and glory, which was to pass from Him, the Head, to his church also, in her perfect millennial state. We have here, therefore, not an essential opposition made between holiness and beauty, but only a temporary separation.

Notwithstanding this aversion of the early Christians to the

¹ Is. liii. 2, 3.

plastic arts in public worship, the artistic feeling asserted itself among them without contradiction in the sphere of private devotion even in the second century. Christian art was born in the house and upon tombs,¹ and thence, in the fourth century, passed into the church and the public worship. It originated in the practical necessity of suppressing the heathen mythological figures on walls, floors, goblets, seal-rings, and grave-stones, and substituting symbols, which might perpetually remind the Christians of their Redeemer from sin and misery, and of their own holy calling. Innocent and natural as this effort was, it could easily lead, in the less intelligent multitude, to confusion of the sign with the thing signified, and to many a superstition. Yet this result was the less apparent in the first three centuries, because in that period artistic works were confined to the province of symbol and allegory.

The oldest and dearest of these primitive Christian symbols is the cross, the sign of redemption; sometimes alone, sometimes with the Alpha and Omega, sometimes with the anchor of hope or the palm of peace. Upon this arose, as early as the second century, the custom of making the sign of the cross,² according to Tertullian, on rising, bathing, going out, eating, in short on engaging in any affairs of every-day life; a custom probably attended in many cases, even in that age, with superstitious confidence in the magical virtue of this sign. We find as frequently, particularly upon ornaments and tombs, the monogram of the name of Christ, X P, usually combined in the cruciform character, , either alone, or with the Greek letters α and ω , "the first and the last;" in later cases with the addition: "in signo" (in hoc signo vinces).

A further step was the *allegorical* representation of Christ himself; now as a shepherd, who lays down his life for the sheep,³ or carries the lost sheep on his shoulders;⁴ now as a lamb, who bears the sin of the world;⁵ more rarely as a ram, with reference to the substituted victim in the history of Abraham and

¹ Comp. § 93.² Signaculum crucis.³ Jno. x. 11.⁴ Lu. xv. 3-7; comp. Is. xvi. 11.⁵ Jno. i. 29; 1 Pet. i. 19; Rev. v. 12.

Isaac;¹ frequently as a fisher, as Clement of Alexandria in his hymn calls Christ the "Fisher of mortals, who with his sweet life catches the pure fish out of the hostile flood in the sea of iniquity." A very favorite figure was that of the fish; partly as a pregnant anagram, the corresponding Greek Ichthys containing the initials of the words: "Jesus Christ, Son of God Saviour;"² but partly, and perhaps originally, as a symbol of the soul caught in the net of the great Fisher of men and his servants, with reference to Matt. iv. 19; comp. xiii. 47. Tertullian gives it another rather artificial application to the water of baptism, where he says:³ "We little fishes (pisciculi) are born by our Fish (secundum 'ΙΧΘΥΝ nostrum) Jesus Christ, in water, and can thrive only by continuing in the water;" that is, if we are faithful to our baptismal covenant, and preserve the grace there received.

The following symbols relate to the virtues and duties of the Christian life: The dove, with or without the olive branch, the type of simplicity and innocence;⁴ the ship, representing sometimes the church, as safely sailing through the flood of corruption, with reference to Noah's ark, sometimes the individual soul on its voyage to the heavenly home under the conduct of the storm-controlling Saviour; the palm-branch, which the Apocalypse⁵ puts into the hands of the elect, as the sign of victory; the anchor, the figure of hope;⁶ the lyre, denoting festal joy and sweet harmony; the cock, an admonition to watchfulness, with reference to Peter's fall;⁷ the hart, which pants for the water-brooks;⁸ and the phenix, a symbol of rejuvenation and of the resurrection, derived from the well known heathen myth.

Besides these emblems, there were typical prophetic scenes from the Old Testament, such as the fall, the ark of Noah, the giving of the law, the sacrifice of Isaac, the deliverance of Jonah,

¹ Gen. xxii. 13.

² 'ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ. Comp. Augustin De civit. Dei xviii. 23.

³ De baptismo, c. 1.

⁴ Matt. x. 16; comp. iii. 16. Gen. viii. 11. Sol. Song vi. 9

⁵ vii. 9.

⁶ Heb. vi. 19.

⁷ Matt. xxvi. 34.

⁸ Ps. xli. 1.

the translation of Elijah, Daniel in the lions' den, &c., painted in the catacombs perhaps as early as the third century. From this it was but a single step to the plastic representation of scenes from the Gospels and from apostolic and post-apostolic history. The sympathy with art increased just in proportion as the church appropriated Grecian literature and culture. Perhaps Gnosticism had a stimulating effect in art, as it had in theology. At all events the sects of the Carpocratians, the Basilideans, and the Manichaeans cherished art.

Yet, previous to the time of Constantine, we find no trace of an image of Christ, properly speaking, except among the Gnostic Carpocratians, and in the case of the heathen emperor Alexander Severus, who adorned his domestic chapel, as a sort of pantheistic Pantheon, with representatives of all religions. The above-mentioned idea of the uncomely personal appearance of Jesus, the entire silence of the Gospels about it, and the Old Testament prohibition of images, restrained the church from making either pictures or statues of Christ, until the Nicene age, when a great reaction in this respect took place, though not without energetic and long continued opposition.

The first attempts to transfer these emblematic representations from dwellings and tombs into the churches appear to have been made in the beginning of the fourth century; but they were also resisted. The rigid Spanish council of Elvira in 305, for example, decreed in can. 36: "There must be no pictures in the churches, and the objects of veneration and worship shall not be painted on the walls."

§ 101. *Public Worship.*

On the secret discipline comp. particularly R. ROTHE: *De Disciplinæ arcani, quæ dicitur, in Ecclesia Christ. Origine.* Heidelb. 1841.

The earliest description of the Christian worship is given us by a heathen, the younger Pliny, A.D. 107, in his well known letter to Trajan, which embodies the result of his judicial inves-

tigations in Bithynia.¹ According to this, the Christians assembled on an appointed day (Sunday) at sunrise, sang responsively a song to Christ as to God, and then pledged themselves by an oath,² not to any evil work, but that they would commit no theft, robbery, nor adultery, would not break their word, nor sacrifice property intrusted to them. Afterwards (at evening) they assembled again, to eat ordinary and innocent food (the *agapae*). This account then bears witness to the primitive observance of Sunday, the separation of the love-feast from the morning worship (with the communion), and the worship of Christ as God in song.

Unfortunately nothing remains of this primitive Christian psalmody, except the sublime hymn in Clement of Alexandria (which, however, is not at all suited for *public* worship, and was probably never intended for such use), the morning and evening hymn in the Apostolical Constitutions, and the first forms of the *gloria in excelsis* or *hymnus angelicus*. An author towards the close of the second century³ could appeal against the Artemonites, to a multitude of such hymns, in proof of the faith of the church in the divinity of Christ: "How many psalms and odes of the Christians are there not, which have been written from the beginning by believers, and which, in their theology, praise Christ as the Logos of God?" Tradition says, that the antiphonies, or responsive songs, were introduced by Ignatius of Antioch. The Gnostics, Valentine and Bardesanes, also composed religious songs; and the church surely learned the practice not from them, but from the Old Testament psalms.

Justin Martyr, at the close of his larger Apology,⁴ describes the public worship more particularly, as it was conducted about the year 139. After giving a full account of baptism and the holy Supper, to which we shall refer again, he continues: "On Sunday a meeting of all, who live in the cities and villages, is held, and a section from the memoirs of the apostles (the Gospels) and the writings of the prophets (the Old Testament) is read, as

¹ Comp. § 53, p. 164.² *Sacramentum*.³ In Eus. V. 28.⁴ C. 65-67

long as the time permits.¹ When the reader has finished, the president,² in a discourse, gives an exhortation³ to the imitation of these noble things. After this we all rise in common prayer.⁴ At the close of the prayer, as we have before described,⁵ bread and wine with water are brought. The president offers prayer and thanks for them, according to the power given him,⁶ and the congregation responds the Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one, and partaken, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions according to their free will, and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want. We assemble in common on Sunday, because this is the first day, on which God created the world and the light, and because Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead and appeared to his disciples."

Here prayer, song, reading of the Scriptures, preaching (and that as an episcopal function), and communion, plainly appear as the regular parts of the Sunday worship; all descending, no doubt, from the apostolic age.⁷ The communion is not yet clearly separated from the other parts of the worship. But this was done towards the end of the second century.

For at that time the public service was then divided into the worship of the catechumens,⁸ and the worship of the faith

¹ Μέχρις ἐγγωρεῖ.

² Ὁ προεστώς, the presiding presbyter or bishop.

³ Τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ παόκλησιν.

⁴ Εὐχὰς πέμπουμεν, preces emittimus.

⁵ C. 65.

⁶ Ὅση αὐτῷ δύναμις; that is probably, *pro viribus, quantum potest*; or like Tertulian's "de pectore" and "ex proprio ingenio." Others translate: *totis viribus*, with all his might. Comp. Otto: *Opp. Just. M. I.* p. 160. The passages, however, in no case contain any *opposition* to forms of prayer which were certainly in use already at that time, and familiar without book to every worshipper; above all the Lord's Prayer. The whole liturgical literature of the fourth and fifth centuries presupposes a much older liturgical tradition. The prayers in the eighth book of the apost. constitutions are probably among the oldest portions of the work. Comp. § 93.

⁷ Comp. § 36.

⁸ Λειτουργία τῶν κατηχουμένων, *missa catechumenorum*. The name *missa cat.* and *fid.* occurs first in Augustine and in the acts of the council at Carthage, A. D. 398. It arose from the formula of dismissal at the close of each part of the services,

ful.¹ The former consisted of scripture reading, preaching, prayer, and song, and was open to the unbaptized and person under penance. The latter consisted of the communion, with its liturgical appendages; none but the proper members of the church could attend it; and before it began, all catechumens and unbelievers left the assembly at the order of the deacon,² and the doors were closed or guarded. The earliest witness for this strict separation is Tertullian, who reproaches the heretics with allowing the baptized and the unbaptized to attend the same prayers, and casting the holy even before the heathens.³ He demands, that believers, catechumens, and heathens should occupy separate places in public worship. The Alexandrian divines furnished a theoretical ground for this practice by their doctrine of a secret tradition for the esoteric. Besides the communion, the sacrament of baptism, with its accompanying confession, was likewise treated as a mystery for the initiated,⁴ and withdrawn from the view of Jews and heathens.

We have here the beginnings of the Christian mystery-worship, or what has been called since 1679 the secret discipline, *Disciplina arcani*, which is presented in its full development in the liturgies of the fourth century, but disappeared from the Latin church after the sixth century, with the dissolution of heathenism and the universal introduction of infant baptism. The secret discipline had reference not to doctrine—this was inculcated upon the catechumens—but only to the ritual, to the celebration of the sacraments; and the conclusions, therefore, which many Roman Catholic theologians have drawn from its

and is equivalent to *missio*, *dismissio*. *Missa* (mass) afterwards came to denote exclusively the celebration of the holy communion

¹ Λειτουργία τῶν πιστῶν, *missa fidelium*.

² Μὴ τις τῶν κατηχουμένων, μή τις τῶν ἀκούσασκε, μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων, μή τις τῶν ἑτερόδοξων. Comp. Const. Apost. viii. 12.

³ De praescr. haer. c. 41: quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est (that is, among the heretics); pariter adeunt, pariter orant, etiam ethnici, si supervenerint; sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras (since they have no proper sacraments), jactabunt. But this does not apply to all heretics, least of all to the Manichaeans, who carried the notion of mystery in the sacraments much further than the catholics.

Μέητοι, initiati = πιστοί, *fideles*

mysterious silence, in favor of transubstantiation, saint-worship, and other later dogmas, are wholly unwarranted.¹ Some have recently assigned the origin of this institution of the Nicene and ante-Nicene cultus even to the apostolic age, and have supposed it to explain the more readily the early slanders of the heathens upon the celebration of the communion and the agape.² But against this are the words of Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 23-25, and the fact, that Justin Martyr, in his first apology, addressed to a heathen emperor, describes the celebration of baptism and the holy supper without the least reserve, while the later apologists do not use such freedom. On the other hand, however, we cannot well trace this secret discipline to the mysteries of the pagan worship, though many expressions and formulas of these mysteries, together with all sorts of unscriptural mystic pedantries, gathered upon it. Its origin must be sought rather in an opposition to heathenism; to wit, in the feeling of the necessity of guarding the sacred transactions of Christianity, the embodiment of its deepest mysteries, against profanation in the midst of the hostile world, according to Matt. vii. 6; especially when after Adrian, perhaps even from the time of Nero, those transactions came to be so shamefully misunderstood and slandered. To this must be added a proper regard for modesty and decency in the administration of baptism by immersion. And finally, the institution of the order of catechumens led to a distinction of half-Christians and full-Christians, exoteric and esoteric, and this distinction gradually became established in the liturgy. With the catechumens, therefore, or with the general use of infant baptism and the union of church and state, disappeared also the secret discipline in the sixth and seventh centuries: cessante causa cessat effectus. The Eastern church alone has retained in her liturgies to this day the ancient forms for the dismissal of catechumens and the special prayers for them; though she also has for centuries had no catechumens

¹ The learned Jesuit. Emanuel von Schelstrate first used this argument, in 1678; but he was soon thoroughly answered by the Lutheran W. Ernst Tenzel, in his *Dissert. de disc. arcani*, Lips. 1683 and 1692.

² Comp. § 62.

in the old sense of the word, that is Heathen or Jewish disciples preparing for baptism, except in rare cases of exception, or on missionary ground.

§ 102. *The Eucharist.*

Besides the literature at § 38, comp. HÖFLING: *Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben u. Cultus der Christen.* Erl. 1851. On the Eucharistic doctrine of Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, there are also special treatises by THIERSCH (1841), SEMISCH (1842), ENGELHARDT (1842), BAUR (1839 and 1857), and others.

1. The DOCTRINE, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, not coming into special controversy in the period before us, remained indefinite and obscure. The ancient church made more account of the worthy participation of the ordinance than of the logical apprehension of it. She looked upon it as the holiest mystery of the Christian worship, and accordingly celebrated it with the deepest devotion, without inquiring particularly into the mode of Christ's presence and of the believer's partaking of him, in the ordinance, nor into the relation of the sensible signs to his flesh and blood. It is unhistorical to carry any of the later theories back into this age; as is nevertheless done frequently by all confessions in the apologetic and polemic discussion of this subject.

Of the apostolic fathers Ignatius alone, the champion of old Catholic episcopacy, speaks of the Eucharist, in two passages of the Greek text; more in the way of allusion, but in very strong, mystical terms, calling it the flesh of our crucified and risen Lord Jesus Christ, and the consecrated bread a medicine of immortality and an antidote of spiritual death.¹ This view, closely connected with his high-churchly tendency in general, no doubt

¹ Ad Smyrn. c. 7; against the Docetists, who deny τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ., κ. τ. λ.; and Ad Ephes. c. 20: "Ὁ, (sc. ὁστος) ἔστιν ψάσμακον ἀθανάσιος, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθάνειν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ τούτου. Both passages are wanting in the Syriac version. But the first is cited by Theodoret, Dial. III. p. 231, and must therefore have been known even in the Syrian church in his time.

involves belief in the real presence, and ascribes to the holy supper an effect on spirit and body at once, with reference to the future resurrection,¹ but is still somewhat obscure, and rather an expression of elevated feeling, than a logical definition. The same may be said of Justin Martyr, when he compares the descent of Christ into the consecrated elements to his incarnation for our redemption.² Irenaeus says repeatedly, in combating the Gnostic Docetism,³ that bread and wine in the sacrament became, by the presence of the Word of God, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, the body and blood of Christ, and that the receiving of them strengthens soul and body (the germ of the resurrection body) unto eternal life. Yet this would hardly warrant our ascribing either transubstantiation or consubstantiation to Irenaeus. For in another place he calls the bread and wine, after consecration, "antitypes," implying the continued distinction of their substance from the body and blood of Christ.⁴ This expression in itself, indeed, might be understood as merely contrasting here the Supper, as the substance, with the Old Testament passover, its type; as Peter calls baptism the antitype of the saving water of the flood.⁵ But the connexion, and the *usus loquendi* of the earlier Greek fathers, require us to take the term antitype in the sense of type, or, more precisely, as the antithesis of archetype. The bread and wine represent and exhibit the

¹ Comp. Jno. vi. 54.

² Apol. I. 66. Here also occurs already the term *μεταβολή*, which some Roman controversialists use at once as an argument for transubstantiation. Justin says: 'Εξ ἧς (i. e. τροφῆς) αἷμα καὶ σαρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ex quo alimento sanguis et carnes nostrae per mutationem aluntur. But according to the context, this denotes by no means a transmutation of the elements, but either the assimilation of them to the body of the receiver, or the operation of them upon the body, with reference to the future resurrection. Comp. Jno. vi. 54 sqq., and like passages in Ignatius and Irenaeus.

³ Adv. haer. IV. 18, and passim.

⁴ In the second of the Fragments discovered by Pfaff (Opp. Iren. ed. Stieren, vol. I. p. 855), which Maffei and other Roman divines have unwarrantably declared spurious. It is there said, that the Christians, after the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice, call upon the Holy Ghost, ὅπως ἀποφάγη τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Χρ., ἵνα οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες τούτων τῶν ἀντιτύπων, τῇ ἀφίσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν.

⁵ 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21.

body and blood of Christ, as the archetype, and correspond to them, as a copy to the original. In exactly the same sense it is said in Heb. ix. 24—comp. viii. 5,—that the earthly sanctuary is the antitype, that is the copy, of the heavenly. Other Greek fathers also, down to the fifth century, and especially the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, call the consecrated elements antitypes (sometimes, like Theodoretus, types) of the body and blood of Christ.¹

A different view, approaching nearer the Reformed, we meet with among the African fathers. Tertullian makes the words of institution: Hoc est corpus meum, equivalent to: *figura corporis mei*, to prove in opposition to Marcion's docetism, the reality of the body of Jesus,—a mere phantom being capable of no emblematic representation.² This involves, at all events, an essential distinction between the consecrated elements and the body and blood of Christ in the supper. Yet he must not be understood as teaching a *merely* symbolical presence of Christ; for in other places Tertullian, according to his general realistic turn, speaks in almost materialistic language of an eating of the body of Christ, and extends the participation even to the body of the receiver.³ Cyprian likewise appears to favor a symbolical interpretation of the words of institution; yet not so clearly. In the customary mixing of the wine with water he sees a type of the union of Christ with his church,⁴ and, on the authority of John

¹ Const. Apost. l. V. c. 14: Τὰ ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίου σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος; so VI. 30, and in a eucharistic prayer, VII. 25. Other passages of the Greek fathers see in Stieren, l. c., p. 884 sq. Comp also Bleek's learned remarks on Heb. viii. 5, and ix. 24.

² Adv. Marc. IV. 40; and likewise III. 19. This interpretation is plainly very near that of Ecolampadius, who, in fact, attached no small weight to this authority. But the Zwinglian view, which puts the figure in the *ἐστίν*, instead of the predicate, appears also in Tertullian, Adv. Marc. I. 14, in the words: Panem qui ipsum corpus suum *repræsentat*.

³ De resur. carnis, c. 8. Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur. De pudic. c. 9, he refers the fatted calf, in the parable of the prodigal son, to the Lord's Supper, and says: Opimitate Domini corporis vescitur, eucharistia scilicet. De orat. c. 6: Quod et corpus Christi in pane censetur; which should probably be translated:—is to be understood by the bread (not contained in the bread).

⁴ For this reason he considers the mixing essential. Epist. 63 (ed. Bal.) c. 13: Si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis; si vero aqua sit

vi. 53, holds the communion of the supper indispensable to salvation. The idea of a sacrifice comes out very boldly in Cyprian.

The Alexandrians are here, as usual, decidedly spiritualistic. Clement twice expressly calls the wine a symbol or an allegory of the blood of Christ, and says, that the communicant receives not the physical, but the spiritual blood, the life, of Christ; as, indeed, the blood is the life of the body. Origen distinguishes still more definitely the earthly elements from the heavenly bread of life, and makes it the whole design of the supper to feed the soul with the divine word.¹ Applying his unsound allegorical method here, he makes the bread represent the Old Testament, the wine the New, and the breaking of the bread the multiplication of the divine word! But these were rather private views for the initiated, and can hardly be taken as presenting the doctrine of the Alexandrian church.

We have, therefore, among the ante-Nicene fathers, three different views, an Oriental, an African, and an Alexandrian. The first view, that of Ignatius and Irenaeus, agrees most nearly with the mystical character of the celebration of the eucharist, and with the catholicizing features of the age.

2. The eucharist as a SACRIFICE. This point is very important in relation to the doctrine, and still more important in relation to the cultus and life, of the ancient church. The Lord's supper was universally regarded not only as a sacrament, but also as a sacrifice,² the true and eternal sacrifice of the new covenant, superseding all the provisional and typical sacrifices

sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo. Quando autem utrumque miscetur et adunatione confusa sibi invicem copulatur, tunc sacramentum spirituale et coeleste perficitur.

¹ Comment. ser. in Matt. c. 85 (III. 898): Panis iste, quem Deus Verbum (Logos) corpus suum esse fatetur, verbum est nutritorium animarum, verbum de Deo Verbo procedens, et panis de pani coelesti. . . . Non enim panem illum visibilem, quem tenebat in manibus, corpus suum dicebat Deus Verbum, sed verbum, in cuius mysterio fuerat panis ille frangendus. Then the same of the wine. Origen evidently goes no higher than the Zwinglian theory, while Clement approaches the Calvinistic view of a spiritual real fruition of Christ's life in the eucharist.

² Προσφορά, θυσία, oblatio, sacrificium.

of the old; taking the place particularly of the passover, or the feast of the typical redemption from Egypt. This eucharistic sacrifice, however, the ante-Nicene fathers conceived not as an unbloody repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ on the cross, but simply as a commemoration and renewed appropriation of that atonement, and, above all, a thank-offering of the whole church for all the favors of God in creation and redemption. Hence the current name itself—eucharist; which denoted in the first place the prayer of thanksgiving, but afterwards the whole rite.¹ The consecrated elements were regarded in a twofold light, as representing at once the natural and the spiritual gifts of God, which culminated in the self-sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Hence the eucharistic prayer, like that connected with the typical passover, related at the same time to creation and redemption, which were the more closely joined in the mind of the church for their dualistic separation by the Gnostics. The earthly gifts of bread and wine were taken as types and pledges of the heavenly gifts of the same God, who has both created and redeemed the world.

Upon this followed the idea of the self-sacrifice of the worshipper himself. Down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the eucharistic elements were presented as a thank-offering by the members of the congregation themselves, and the remnants went to the clergy and the poor. In these gifts the people yielded themselves as a priestly race and a living thank-offering to God, to whom they owed all the blessings alike of providence and of grace.

This subjective offering of the congregation on the ground of the objective atoning sacrifice of Christ is the real centre of the ancient Christian worship, and particularly of the communion. It thus differed both from the later Catholic mass, which has changed the thank-offering into a sin-offering, and from the common Protestant cultus, which, in opposition to the Roman mass,

¹ So among the Jews the cup of wine at the paschal supper was called כוס
הברכה, πικρὸν ἐὶλογίαν = εὐχαριστίαν, comp. 1 Cor. x. 16.

has almost entirely banished the idea of sacrifice from the celebration of the Lord's supper.

The writers of the second century keep strictly within the limits of the notion of a *thank-offering*. Thus Justin says expressly, prayers and thanksgivings alone are the true and acceptable sacrifices, which the Christians offer. Irenaeus has been brought as a witness for the Roman doctrine, only on the ground of a false reading.¹ The African fathers, in the third century, who elsewhere incline to the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution, are the first to approach on this point the later Roman idea of a sin-offering; especially Cyprian, the steadfast advocate of priesthood and of episcopal authority.² The ideas of priesthood, sacrifice, and altar, are intimately connected, and a Judaizing conception of one must extend to all.

3. The CELEBRATION of the eucharist. Of this Justin Martyr³ gives the following description, which still bespeaks the primitive simplicity: "After the prayers (of the catechumen worship) we greet one another with the brotherly kiss. Then bread and a cup with water and wine are handed to the president (bishop) of the brethren. He receives them, and offers praise, glory, and thanks to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, for these his gifts. When he has ended the prayers and thanksgiving, the whole congregation responds: Amen. For amen in the Hebrew tongue means: Be it so. Upon this the deacons, as we call them, give to each of those present some of the blessed bread,⁴ and of the wine mingled with water, and

¹ Adv. haer. IV. c. 18. § 4: Verbum (the Logos) quod offertur Deo; instead of which should be read, according to other manuscripts: Verbum *per* quod offertur, —which suits the connexion much better. Comp. IV. 17, § 6: *Per* Jes. Christum offert ecclesia. Stieren reads Verbum quod, but refers it not to Christ, but to the word of the prayer. The passage is, at all events, too obscure and too isolated to build a dogma upon.

² Epist. 63 ad Caecil. c. 14: Si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris et sacrificium Patri seipsum primus obtulit et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem praecepit: utique ille sacerdos *vice Christi vere fungitur*, qui id, quod Christus fecit, *imitatur et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Dei Patri*, si sic incipiat offerre, secundum quod ipsum Christum *videat* obtulisse.

³ Apol. I. c. 65, 66 (ed. Otto, I. 154).

⁴ Εὐχαριστήσιμος ἄρτος.

carry it to the absent in their dwellings. This food is called with us the eucharist, of which none can partake, but the believing and baptized, who live according to the commands of Christ. For we use these not as common bread and common drink; but like as Jesus Christ our Redeemer was made flesh through the word of God, and took upon him flesh and blood for our redemption; so we are taught, that the nourishment blessed by the word of prayer, by which our flesh and blood are nourished by transformation (assimilation), is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus." Then he relates the institution from the Gospels, and mentions the customary collections for the poor.

We are not warranted in carrying back to this period the full liturgical service, which we find prevailing with striking uniformity in essentials, though with many variations in minor points, in all quarters of the church in the Nicene age. A certain simplicity and freedom characterized the period before us. Even the so-called Clementine liturgy, in the seventh book of the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions, was probably not composed and written out in this form before the fourth century. Yet by the third century a tolerably uniform practice must have arisen and spread by oral tradition; otherwise the later liturgies were historically unaccountable.

From scattered statements of the ante-Nicene fathers we may gather the following view of the eucharistic service as it may have stood in the middle of the third century, if not earlier.

The communion was a regular part, and in fact the most important and solemn part, of the Sunday worship; or it was the worship of God in the stricter sense, in which none but full members of the church could engage. In many places and by many Christians it was celebrated even daily, after apostolic precedent, and according to the very common mystical interpretation of the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer.¹ The service began,

¹ Cyprian speaks of daily sacrifices, Ep. 54: *Sacerdotes qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus*. So Ambrose, Ep. 14 ad Marcell., and the oldest liturgical works. But that the observance was various, is certified by Augustine, among others, Ep. 118 ad Januar. c. 2: *Alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Dominico; alii certis*

after the dismissal of the catechumens, with the kiss of peace, given by the men to men, and by the women to women, in token of mutual recognition as members of one redeemed family in the midst of a heartless and loveless world. The service proper consisted of two principal acts: the *oblation*,¹ or presenting of the offerings of the congregation by the deacons for the ordinance itself, and for the benefit of the clergy and the poor; and the *communion*, or partaking of the consecrated elements. In the oblation the congregation at the same time presented itself as a living thank-offering; as in the communion it appropriated anew in faith the sacrifice of Christ, and united itself anew with its Head. Both acts were accompanied and consecrated by prayer and songs of praise. In the prayers we must distinguish, first, the general *thanksgiving*, the eucharist in the strictest sense of the word, for all the natural and spiritual gifts of God, commonly ending with the seraphic hymn, Isa. vi. 3; secondly, the prayer of *consecration*, or the invocation of the Holy Ghost² upon the people and the elements, usually accompanied by the recital of the words of institution and the Lord's prayer; and finally, the general *intercessions* for all classes, especially for the believers, on the ground of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross for the salvation of the world. The length and order of the prayers, however were not uniform; nor the position of the Lord's prayer, which sometimes took the place of the prayer of consecration. The congregation responded from time to time, according to the ancient Jewish and the apostolic usage,³ with an audible "Amen"

diebus accipiunt; alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur; alibi sabbato tantum et dominico; alibi tantum dominico.

¹ Πρασφυσία.

² Ἐπίκλησις τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἱρεναeus derives this invocatio Spiritus S., as well as the oblation and the thanksgiving, from apostolic instruction. See the 2nd fragment, already cited, in Stieren I. 854. It appears in all the Greek liturgies. In the Liturgia Jacobi it reads thus: Καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον ἐβ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προσκεείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν . . . ἵνα . . . ἁγιασθῇ καὶ ποιηθῇ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Χρ. σου, ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αἰτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

³ Comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 16

or "Kyrie eleison." The "Sursum corda," also, as an incitement to devotion, with the response, "Habemus ad Dominum," appears at least as early as Cyprian's time, who expressly alludes to it. The elements were common¹ or leavened bread (except among the Ebionites, who, like the later Roman church from the seventh century, used unleavened bread), and wine mingled with water. This mixing was a general custom in antiquity, but came now to have various mystical meanings attached to it. The elements were placed in the hands (not in the mouth) of each communicant by the clergy who were present, or, according to Justin, by the deacons alone, amid singing of psalms by the congregation (Psalm xxxiv.), with the words: "The body of Christ;" "The blood of Christ, the cup of life;" to each of which the recipient responded "Amen."² The whole congregation thus received the elements, standing in the act.³ Thanksgiving and benediction concluded the celebration.

After the public service the deacons carried the consecrated elements to the sick and those who were in prison. Many took portions of the bread home with them, to use in the family at morning prayer. This domestic communion was practised particularly in North Africa, and furnishes the first example of a *communio sub una specie*. In the same country, in Cyprian's time, we find the custom of infant communion (administered

¹ Κοινὸς ἄστρος, says Justin, while in view of its sacred import he calls it also **uncommon bread and drink**. The use of leavened or unleavened bread became afterwards, as is well known, a point of controversy between the Roman and Greek churches.

² This simplest form of distribution. "Σὺμα Χριστοῦ," and "Χ., ζῶης," occurs in the Clementine liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII. 13, and seems to be the oldest.

³ The standing posture of the congregation during the principal prayers, and in the communion itself, seems to have been at first universal. For this was, indeed, the custom always on the day of the resurrection in distinction from Friday (*stantes oramus, quod est signum resurrectionis*, says Augustine); besides, the communion was, in the highest sense, a ceremony of festivity and joy; and finally, Justin expressly observes: "Then we all stand up to prayer." After the twelfth century, kneeling in receiving the elements became general, and passed from the Catholic church into the Lutheran and Anglican, while most of the Reformed churches returned to the original custom of standing. Sitting in the communion was first introduced after the reformation by the Presbyterian church of Scotland.

with wine alone), which was justified from John vi. 53, and has continued in the Greek (and Russian) church to this day, though irreconcilable with the apostles' requisition of a preparatory examination.¹

4. At first the communion was joined with a LOVE FEAST, and was then celebrated in the evening, in memory of the last supper of Jesus with his disciples. But so early as the beginning of the second century these two exercises were separated, and the communion was placed in the morning,² the love feast in the evening. Tertullian gives a detailed description of the latter in refutation of the calumnies of the heathens. But the growth of the churches and the rise of manifold abuses led to the gradual disuse, and in the fourth century even to the formal prohibition, of the agape, which belonged in fact only to the childhood and first love of the church.

§ 103. *Baptism and Catechetical Instruction. Confirmation.*

Comp. the literature at § 37, particularly the work of HÖFLING.

1. The IDEA of baptism. This ordinance was regarded in the ancient church as the sacrament of conversion and regeneration, as the solemn rite of initiation into the Christian church, admitting to all her benefits and committing to all her obligations. Its effect was supposed to consist in the forgiveness of sins and the communication of the Holy Ghost. Justin calls it "the water-bath for the forgiveness of sins and regeneration,"³ and "the bath of conversion and the knowledge of God." It is often called also illumination,⁴ spiritual circumcision, anointing, sealing, gift of grace, symbol of redemption, death of sins, &c. Tertullian describes its effect thus: "When the soul comes to faith, and becomes transformed through regeneration by water

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 28.

² Yet on Maunday-Thursday, according to Augustine's testimony, the communion continued to be celebrated in the evening, "tamquam ad insigniorem commemorationem." So on high feasts and in fasting seasons. See Ambrose, *Serm. viii.* in Ps. 118.

³ Comp. Tit. iii. 5.

⁴ Φωτισμός, φωτισμα.

and power from above, it discovers, after the veil of the old corruption is taken away, its whole light. It is received into the fellowship of the Holy Ghost; and the soul, which unites itself to the Holy Ghost, is followed by the body." He already leans towards the notion of a magical operation of the baptismal water. Yet the subjective condition of repentance and faith was universally required. Baptism was not only an act of God, but at the same time the most solemn surrender of the man to God, a vow for life and death, to live henceforth only to Christ, and his people. The keeping of this vow was the condition of continuance in the church; the breaking of it must be followed either by repentance or excommunication.

From Jno. iii. 5, Tertullian and others argued the necessity of baptism to salvation. Clement of Alexandria supposed with Hermas, that even the saints of the Old Testament were baptized by the apostles in Hades. But exception was made in favor of the bloody baptism of martyrdom, as compensating the want of baptism with water; and thenceforth the principle was established, that not the unavoidable omission, but only the contempt of this sacrament, is damning.¹

The effect of baptism, however, was thought to extend only to sins committed before receiving it. Hence the frequent postponement of the sacrament,² which Tertullian very earnestly recommends, though he censures it when accompanied with moral levity and presumption.³ Many, like Constantine the Great, put it off to the bed of sickness and of death. They preferred the risk of dying unbaptized to that of forfeiting for ever the baptismal grace.

But then the question arose, how the forgiveness of sins committed after baptism could be obtained? This is the starting point of the Roman doctrine of the sacrament of *penance*. Tertullian⁴ and Cyprian⁵ were the first to suggest that satisfaction must

¹ Non defectus, sed contemptus sacramenti damnat.

² Procrastinatio baptismi

³ So the author of the Apost. Constit. VI. 15, disapproves those who say: "Ὁ δὲ θάνατος, βαπτίζονται, ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτάνωσι καὶ ῥυπανῶσι τὸ βάπτισμα."

⁴ De poenitentia.

⁵ De opere et elemosynis.

be made for such sins by self-imposed penitential exercises and good works, such as prayers and almsgiving. Tertullian held seven gross sins, which he denoted mortal sins, to be unpardonable after baptism, and to be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God; but the Catholic church took a milder view, and even received back the adulterers and apostates on their public repentance.

2. PREPARATION for baptism, or the CATECHUMENATE. This was a very important institution of the early church. As the church was set in the midst of a heathen world, and addressed herself in her missionary preaching in the first instance to the adult generation, she saw the necessity of preparing the susceptible for baptism by special instruction under teachers called catechists, who were generally presbyters and deacons.¹ The catechumenate thus preceded baptism (of adults); whereas, at a later period, after the general introduction of infant baptism, it followed. It was, on the one hand, a bulwark of the church against unworthy members; on the other, a bridge from the world to the church, a Christian novitiate, to lead beginners forward to maturity. The catechumens or hearers² were regarded not as unbelievers, but as half-christians, and were accordingly allowed to attend all the exercises of worship, except the celebration of the sacrament.³ They embraced people of all ranks, ages, and grades of culture, even philosophers, statesmen, and rhetoricians,—Justin, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, who all embraced Christianity in their adult years. In the third century they were divided into three classes.⁴ The catechetical school of Alexandria was particularly renowned for its highly learned character.⁵ The duration of this catechetical instruction was fixed sometimes at two years, sometimes at three, but might be shortened according to circumstances.

3. The CELEBRATION of baptism. Of this also Justin gives

¹ Κατηχηταί, doctores audientium.

² Κατηκούμενοι, ἀκροαταί, auditores, audientes.

³ Comp. § 101.

⁴ Ἀκροώμενοι, or audientes; γονυκλίνοντες, or genuflectentes; and φωτιζόμενοι, or competentes.

⁵ Comp. § 126.

the following brief account:¹ "Those who are convinced of the truth of our doctrine, and have promised to live according to it, are exhorted to prayer, fasting, and repentance for past sins; we praying and fasting with them. Then they are led by us to a place where is water, and in this way are regenerated,² as we also have been regenerated; that is, they receive the water bath in the name of God, the Father and Ruler of all, and of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For Christ says: Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven.³ . . . Thus, from children of necessity and ignorance, we become children of choice and of wisdom, and partakers of the forgiveness of former sins. . . . The baptismal bath is called also illumination, because those who receive it are enlightened in the understanding."

This account may be completed by the following from later writers:—

Before the act the candidate was required in a solemn vow to renounce the service of the devil, that is, all evil,⁴ give himself to Christ, and confess the sum of the apostolic faith in God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost.⁵ The apostles' creed, therefore, is properly the baptismal symbol, as it grew, in fact, out of the baptismal formula.⁶ This act of turning from sin and turning to God, or of repentance and faith, on the part of the candidate, was followed by an appropriate prayer by the minister, and then by the baptism itself in the triune name, with either three successive immersions, or only a single one, in which the deacons and deaconesses assisted. In exceptional cases, of sick persons

¹ Apol. I., c. 61, p. 142.

² Ἀναγεννώνται.

³ Jno. iii. 5.

⁴ Abrenunciatio diaboli. Tertullian: Renunciare diabolo et pompae et angelis ejus. Const. Apost.: Ἀπαράσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρίαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑστ' αὐτόν. This renunciation of the devil was made, at least in the fourth century, as we learn from Cyril of Jerusalem, in the vestibule of the baptistery, with the face towards the west, and the hand raised in the repelling posture, as if Satan were present (ὡς πωρεται ἀπαράσσειν Σατανᾷ), and was sometimes accompanied with exsufflations, or other signs of expulsion of the evil spirit.

⁵ Ὁμολογητής, professio. The creed was either said by the catechumen after the priest, or confessed in answer to questions, and with the face eastward.

⁶ Comp. § 76.

(and probably of children), the water was applied by affusion or sprinkling. Many were unwilling to allow this "baptismus clinicorum," as it was called, full validity; and Cyprian wrote in its defence. According to ecclesiastical law it at least incapacitated for the clerical office. Yet the Roman bishop Fabian ordained Novatian a presbyter, though he had been baptized on a sick-bed by sprinkling alone. Thanksgiving, benediction, and the brotherly kiss concluded the sacred ceremony.

Besides these essential elements of the baptismal rite, we find, so early as the third century, several other subordinate usages, which have indeed a beautiful symbolical meaning, but, like all redundancies, could easily obscure the original simplicity of this sacrament, as it appears in Justin Martyr's description. Among these appendages are the signing of the cross on the forehead and breast of the subject, as a soldier of Christ under the banner of the cross; giving him milk and honey (also salt) in token of sonship with God, and citizenship in the heavenly Canaan.

Exorcism, or the expulsion of the devil, which is not to be confounded with the essential formula of renunciation, was probably practised at first only in special cases, as of demoniacal possession. But after the council of Carthage, A.D. 256, we find it a regular part of the ceremony of baptism, preceding the baptism proper, and in some cases, it would seem, several times repeated during the course of catechetical instruction. To understand fully this custom, we should remember that the early church derived the whole system of heathen idolatry, which it justly abhorred as one of the greatest crimes,¹ from the agency of Satan. The heathen deities, although they had been eminent men during their lives, were, as to their animating principle, identified with demons—either fallen angels or their progeny. These demons, as we may infer from many passages of Justin, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and others, were believed to traverse the air, to wander over the earth, to deceive and torment the race, to take possession of men, to encourage sacri-

¹ Tertullian calls it "principale crimen generis humani" (De idol. c. 1), and Cyprian, "summum delictum" (Ep. x.).

fices, to lurk in statues, to speak through the oracles, to direct the flights of birds, to work the illusions of enchantment and necromancy, to delude the senses by false miracles, to incite persecution against Christianity, and, in fact, to sustain the whole fabric of heathenism with all its errors and vices. But even these evil spirits were subject to the powerful name of Jesus. Tertullian openly challenges the pagan adversaries to bring demoniacs before the tribunals, and affirms that the spirits which possessed them, would bear witness to the truth of Christianity.

The institution of sponsors,¹ first mentioned by Tertullian, arose no doubt from infant baptism, and was designed to secure Christian training, without thereby excusing Christian parents from their duty.

Baptism might be administered at any time, but was commonly connected with Easter and Pentecost, and in the East with Epiphany also, to give it the greater solemnity. During the week following, the neophytes wore white garments as symbols of their purity.

Separate chapels for baptism, or baptisteries, occur first in the fourth century. Baptism might be performed in any place, where, as Justin says, "water was." Yet Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, and the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions, require the element to be previously consecrated, that it may become the vehicle of the purifying energy of the Spirit. This corresponded to the consecration of the bread and wine in the supper, and involved no transformation of the substance.

4. CONFIRMATION² was originally closely connected with baptism, as its positive complement, and was performed by the imposition of hands, and the anointing of several parts of the body with fragrant balsam-oil, the chrism, as it was called. These acts were the medium of the communication of the Holy Ghost, and of consecration to the spiritual priesthood. Later, however, it came to be separated from baptism, especially in the case of

¹ Ἀνάδοχοι, sponsors, fideijussores.

² Ὑπόστασις, Necessitas, confirmatio, obsignatio, signaculum.

infants, and to be regarded as a sacrament by itself. Cyprian is the first to distinguish the baptism with water and the baptism with the Spirit as two sacraments; yet this term, sacrament, was used as yet very indefinitely, and applied to all sacred doctrines and rites. The Western church, after the third century, restricted the power of confirmation to bishops, on the authority of Acts viii. 17; they alone, as the successors of the apostles, being able to impart the Holy Ghost. The Greek church extended this function to priests and deacons.

§ 104. *Infant Baptism, and Heretical Baptism*

On *infant* baptism comp. JUST. M.: Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. c. 43. IREN.: Adv. haer. II. 22, § 4, compared with III. 17, § 1. TERTULL.: De baptismo, c. 18. CYPR.: Epist. LIX. ad Fidum. CLEM. ALEX.: Paedag. III. 247. ORIG.: Comm. in Rom. V. Opp. IV. 565, and Homil. XIV. in Lucan.

On *heretical* baptism comp. EUSEB.: H. E. VII. 3-5. CYPR.: Epist. LXX.-LXXVI. The Acts of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 256, and the anonymous tract, De rebaptismate, among *Cyprian's* works, and in *Routh's* Reliquiae sacrae, vol. v. 283-328.

1. During this period, while the church is still a missionary institution in the midst of a heathen world, infant baptism yields to the baptism of adult proselytes; as, in the following period, upon the union of church and state, the order is reversed. At that time, too, there could of course be no such thing, even on the part of Christian parents, as the *compulsory* baptism, which dates from Justinian's reign, and which almost inevitably leads to frequent profanation of the sacrament. The cases of Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, who had mothers of exemplary piety, and yet were not baptized before early manhood, show sufficiently that considerable freedom prevailed in this respect even in the Nicene and post-Nicene age. Gregory of Nazianzen¹ gives the advice to put off the baptism of children, where there is no danger of death, to their third year.

But at the same time it seems to us a settled fact, though by

¹ Orat. XL.

many disputed, that, with the baptism of converts, the optional baptism of the children of Christian parents in established congregations, comes down from the apostolic age.¹ Among the fathers, Tertullian himself not excepted—for he combats only its expediency—there is not a single voice against the lawfulness and the apostolic origin of infant baptism. No time can be fixed at which it was first introduced. Tertullian suggests, that it was usually based on the invitation of Christ: “Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.” The usage of sponsors, of which Tertullian himself bears witness, and still more, the almost equally ancient abuse of infant communion, imply the existence of infant baptism. Heretics also practised it, and were not censured for it.

The apostolic fathers make, indeed, no mention of it. But their silence proves nothing; for they hardly touch upon baptism at all, except Irenæus, and he declares it necessary to salvation, even for the patriarchs in Hades (therefore, as we may well infer, for children also). Justin Martyr expressly teaches the capacity of *all* men for spiritual circumcision by baptism; and his *πᾶσι* can with the less propriety be limited, since he is here speaking to a Jew, and as he elsewhere (in his smaller Apology) speaks of old men who have been from childhood² disciples of Christ. According to Irenæus, the faithful bearer of Johannean tradition, Christ passed through all the stages of life, to sanctify them all, and came to redeem, through himself, “all who through him are *born again* unto God, *sucklings, children, boys, youths, and adults.*”³ This profound view involves an acknowledgment not only, as is universally granted, of the idea of infant baptism, but also of the practice of it; for in the mind of the ancient church baptism and regeneration were intimately con-

¹ Comp. § 37.

² Ἐκ παιδῶν.

³ Adv. hæc. II. 22, § 4: Omnes venit per semetipsum salvare; omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et pueros et juvenes et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes; in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem; simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus et justitiæ et subjectionis, in juvenibus juvenis, &c. Comp. the passage, III. 17, § 1, where baptism is defined as regeneratio in Deum.

nected, and by Irenaeus himself, in another passage, they are distinctly identified. In an infant, in fact, any regeneration but through baptism is inconceivable. A moral regeneration, as distinct from sacramental, would imply conversion, and this is a conscious act of the will, an exercise of repentance and faith of which the infant is incapable.

In the churches of Egypt infant baptism must have been practised from the first. For, aside from some not very clear expressions of Clement of Alexandria, Origen distinctly derives it from the apostles; and he himself, being descended from Christian parents and grand-parents, was baptized soon after his birth in 185, and, through his journeys in the east and the west, was well acquainted with the practice of the church in his time.

The only opponent of infant baptism is Tertullian. He condemns the hastening of the innocent age to the forgiveness of sins,¹ and intrusting it with divine gifts, while we would not commit to it earthly property. Whoever considers the solemnity of baptism, will shrink more from the receiving, than from the postponement of it. But the very manner of Tertullian's opposition proves as much in favor of infant baptism as against it. He meets it not as an innovation, but as a prevalent custom; and he meets it not with exegetical nor historical argument, but only with considerations of religious prudence. His opposition to it is founded on his erroneous view of the impossibility of having mortal sins forgiven in the church after baptism, this ordinance cannot be repeated, and washes out only the guilt contracted before its reception. On the same ground he advises healthy adults, especially the unmarried, to postpone this sacrament, until they shall be no longer in danger of forfeiting for ever the grace of baptism by committing adultery, murder, apostasy, or any other of the seven crimes which he calls mortal sins. On the same principle his advice applies only to healthy children,

¹ "Quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum?" The "innocens" here is to be taken only in a relative sense; for Tertullian in other places teaches a *vitium originis*, or hereditary sin and guilt, although not as distinctly and clearly as Augustine. Comp. the remarks on his opposition to infant baptism in my *Hist. of the Apost. Church*, p. 579 sq.

not to sickly ones, if we consider that he held baptism to be the indispensable condition of forgiveness of sins, and taught the doctrine of hereditary sin. With him this position resulted from moral earnestness, from a lively sense of the great solemnity of the baptismal vow. But many put off baptism to their death bed, in moral levity and presumption, that they might sin as long as they could.

Tertullian's opposition, moreover, had no influence, at least no theoretical influence, even in North Africa. His disciple Cyprian differed from him wholly. In his day it was no question, whether the children of Christian parents might and should be baptized—on this all were agreed,—but whether they might be baptized so early as the second or third day after birth, or according to the precedent of the Jewish circumcision, on the eighth day. Cyprian, and a council of sixty-six bishops held at Carthage in 253 under his lead, decided for the earlier time, yet without condemning the delay.¹ It was in a measure the same view of the almost magical effect of the baptismal water, and of its absolute necessity to salvation, which led Cyprian to hasten, and Tertullian to postpone the holy ordinance; one looking more at the beneficent effect of the sacrament in regard to past sins, the other at the danger of sins to come.

II. Heretical baptism was, in the third century, the subject of a violent controversy, important also for its bearing on the question of the authority of the Roman see.²

Cyprian, whose Epistles afford the clearest information on this subject, followed Tertullian in rejecting baptism by heretics as an inoperative mock-baptism, and demanded that all heretics coming over to the Catholic church be baptized (he would not say *re-baptized*). His position here was due to his high church exclusivism and his horror of schism. As the one Catholic church is the sole repository of all grace, there can be no forgive-

¹ A later council of Carthage of the year 418 went further and decreed: *Item placuit, ut quicumque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat . . . anathema sit.*

² Comp § 109.

ness of sins, no regeneration or communication of the Spirit, no salvation, therefore no valid sacraments, out of her bosom. So far he had logical consistency on his side. But, on the other hand, he departed from the objective view of the church, as the Donatists afterwards did, in making the efficacy of the sacrament depend on the subjective holiness of the priest. "How can one consecrate water," he asks, "who is himself unholy, and has not the Holy Ghost?" He was followed by the North African church, which, in several councils at Carthage in the years 255-6, rejected heretical baptism; and by the church of Asia Minor, which had already acted on this view, and now, in the person of the Cappadocian bishop Firmilian, a disciple and venerator of the great Origen, vigorously defended it against the intolerance of Rome.

The Roman bishop Stephen (253-257) appeared for the opposite doctrine, on the ground of the ancient practice of his church. He offered no argument, but spoke with the consciousness of authority, and followed a catholic instinct. He laid chief stress on the objective nature of the sacrament, the virtue of which depended neither on the officiating priest, nor on the receiver, but solely on the institution of Christ. Hence he considered heretical baptism valid, provided only it had been administered in the right form, to wit, in the name of the Trinity, or even of Christ alone; so that heretics coming into the church needed only confirmation, or the ratification of baptism by the Holy Ghost. "Heresy," says he, "produces children and exposes them; and the church takes up the exposed children, and nourishes them as her own, though she herself has not brought them forth."

The doctrine of Cyprian was the more consistent from the churchly point of view; that of Stephen, from the sacramental. The one preserved the principle of the exclusiveness of the church; the other, that of the objective force of the sacrament, even to the borders of the *opus operatum* theory. Both were under the direction of the same hierarchial spirit, and the same hatred of heretics; but the Roman doctrine is after all a happy inconsistency of liberality, an inroad upon the principle of abso

late exclusiveness, an involuntary concession, that baptism, and with it the remission of sins and regeneration, therefore salvation, are possible outside of Roman Catholicism.¹

The controversy itself was conducted with great warmth Stephen, though advocating the liberal view, showed the genuine papal arrogance and intolerance. He would not even admit to his presence the deputies of Cyprian, who brought him the decree of the African synod, and called this bishop, who in every respect far excelled Stephen, and whom the Roman church now venerates as one of her greatest saints, a "pseudochristum, pseudoapostolum, et dolosum operarium."² He broke off all intercourse with the African church, as he had already with the Asiatic. But Cyprian and Firmilian, nothing daunted, vindicated with great boldness, the latter also with bitter vehemence, their different view, and continued in it to their death. The Alexandrian bishop Dionysius endeavored to reconcile the two parties, but with little success. The Valerian persecution, which soon ensued, and the martyrdom of Stephen (257) and of Cyprian (258), suppressed this internal discord. In the course of the fourth century, however, the Roman practice gradually gained on the other, was raised to a doctrine of the church by the council of Nice in 325, and was afterwards confirmed by the council of Trent with an anathema on the opposite view.

¹ Unless it be maintained that the baptismal grace, if received outside of the Catholic communion, becomes available only by the subjective conversion and regular confirmation of the heretic.

² Firmil. ad Cyp., towards the end.

CHAPTER VII.

ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

- I. The chief sources for this chapter are the Epistles of IGNATIUS, the works of CYPRIAN, and the so-called CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICAE.
- II. Comp. the relevant sections in the archaeological works of BINGHAM, AUGUSTI, SIEGEL, RHEINWALD, BINTERIM (R. C.), COLEMAN, &c. Also, P. KING: *Constit. of the Primitive Church*. Lond. 1719 (N. York, 1841). A. MÖHLER (R. C.): *Die Einheit der Kirche oder das Princip des Katholicismus, dargestellt im Geiste der Kirchenväter der 3 ersten Jahrh.* Tüb. 1825. (2nd ed. 1843.) S. MILLER (Presb.): *On the Christ. Ministry*. Phila. 1830. R. ROTHE: *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche u. ihrer Verfassung*. Wittenb. 1837 (I. 311-711). W. PALMER: *Treatise on the Church of Christ*. Oxf. 1838. 2 vols. (also 1842, and reprinted in N. York). J. W. BICKELL: *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*, I. Frankf. 1849. F. C. BAUR: *Das Christenthum u. die Kirche der 3 ersten Jahrh.* Tüb. 1853, p. 239-279. J. A. RITSCHL: *Die Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*. Bonn, 2nd edit. 1857. p. 555-583. JOHN KAYE: *Some Account of the External Discipline and Government of the Church of Church during the first three Cent.* Lond. 1855.

§ 105. *Clergy and Laity.*

IN the external organization of the church, several important changes appear in the period before us. The distinction of clergy and laity becomes prominent and fixed; subordinate church offices are multiplied; the episcopate arises; the beginnings of the Roman primacy appear; and the exclusive unity of the Catholic church develops itself in opposition to heretics and schismatics. The apostolical organization of the first century now gives place to the old catholic episcopal system, which, in its turn, passes into the metropolitan, and after the fourth century into the patriarchal. With this the Greek church stops,

while the Latin goes yet a step further, and produces in the middle ages the absolute papacy. The germs of this papacy likewise betray themselves even in our present period, particularly in Cyprian.

The characteristics, however, of the pre-Constantinian hierarchy, in distinction from the post-Constantinian, both Greek and Roman, are, first, its grand simplicity, and secondly, its spirituality, or freedom from all connexion with the political power and worldly splendor. Tertullian even held it impossible for an emperor to be a Christian, or a Christian to be an emperor; and even after Constantine, the Donatists persisted in this view, and cast up to the Catholics the memory of the former age: "*Quid Christianis cum regibus? aut quid episcopis cum palatio?*"

The idea and institution of a special priesthood, distinct from the body of the people, with the accompanying notion of sacrifice and altar, passed imperceptibly from the synagogue, through the medium of Jewish Christianity, into the church, to fulfil there the mission of a schoolmaster in training the Christian people to the general priesthood. Neander and other historians see in it an apostasy from the gospel, and a relapse into Judaism, though they can fix no time for the revolution, nor more definitely establish the fact. The New Testament unquestionably teaches the universal priesthood, as it does the universal kingship, of believers,¹ and that in a far deeper and larger sense than the Old;² in a sense, too, which even to this day is not yet fully realized. It calls the entire body of Christians *ἐκκλησία*, a peculiar people, the heritage of God.³ But it presents also a preaching office, instituted by Christ, for the very purpose of raising the mass of believers from infancy and pupilage to independent and immediate intercourse with God, to that prophetic, priestly, and kingly position, which in principle and destination belongs to them all.⁴ This work is the gradual process of church

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6.

² Exod. ix. 6.

³ 1 Pet. v. 3. Comp. Deut. iv. 20; ix. 29, LXX.

⁴ Comp. Eph. iv. 11-13

history itself, and will not be accomplished till the kingdom of glory shall come.¹

After the gradual abatement of the extraordinary spiritual elevation of the apostolic age, which anticipated in its way the ideal condition of the church, the distinction of a regular class of teachers from the laity became more fixed and prominent. This appears first in Ignatius, who, in his high episcopalian spirit, considers the clergy the necessary medium of access for the people to God. "Whoever is within the sanctuary, is pure; but he who does anything without bishop and presbytery and deacon, is not pure in conscience."² Even Clement of Rome, in other respects very near the evangelical position of Paul, draws a parallel between the Christian presiding office and the Levitical priesthood,³ and uses the expression *λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος* as antithetic to high priests, priests, and Levites. In the third century it became customary to apply the term priest directly and exclusively to the Christian ministers, especially the bishops,⁴ and to call the whole ministry, and it alone, *Clerus*,⁵ with a double reference to its presidency and its peculiar relation to God; it was distinguished by this name from the Christian people or laity.⁶ Solemn consecration by the laying on of hands⁷ was the form of admission into the *ordo ecclesiasticus* or *sacerdotalis*. In this order itself there were again three degrees, *ordines majores*, as they were called: the diaconate, the presbyterate, and the episcopate—held to be of divine institution. Under these were the later *ordines minores*, from sub-deacon to ostiary, which formed the stepping-stone between the proper clergy and the people.⁸ Thus we find, so

¹ Rev. xx. 6.

² Ad Trall. c. 7.

³ 1 Cor. 40-44.

⁴ *Sacerdos*, also *summus sacerdos* (Tertullian De bapt. 7), and once *pontifex maximus* (De pudic. 1, with ironical reference, it seems, to the Roman bishop), *ordo sacerdotalis* (De exhort. cast. 7); *ιερεύς* and sometimes *ἀρχιερεύς* (Apost. Const. II. 34, 35, 36, 57; III. 9, vi. 15, 18, &c.). Hippolytus calls his office an *ἀρχιερατεία* and *διδασκαλία* (Ref. haer. I. prooem.). Cyprian generally applies the term *sacerdos* to the bishop, and calls his colleagues *consacerdotales*.

⁵ *Κληρος*, *τάξις*, *ordo*, *ordo sacerdotalis* (Tertull. De exhort. cast. 7), *ordo ecclesiasticus* or *ecclesiae* (De Monog. 11; De idolol. 7); *κληρικοί*, *clerici*.

⁶ *Λαός*, *λαϊκοί*, *plebs*.

⁷ *Ordinatio*.

⁸ Occasionally, however, we find a somewhat wider terminology. Tertullian

early as the third century, the foundations of a complete hierarchy; though a hierarchy of only moral power, and holding no sort of outward control over the conscience. The body of the laity consisted of two classes: the faithful, or the baptized and communicating members, and the catechumens, who were being prepared for baptism. Those church members who lived together in one place,¹ formed a church in the narrower sense.²

With the exaltation of the clergy appeared the tendency to separate them from secular business, and even from social relations—from marriage, for example, and to represent them, even outwardly, as a caste independent of the people, and devoted exclusively to the service of the sanctuary. They drew their support from the church treasury, which was supplied by voluntary contributions and weekly collections on Sunday. After the third century they were forbidden to engage in any secular business, or even to accept any trusteeship. Celibacy was not yet in this period enforced, but left optional. Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa, and other distinguished church teachers, lived in wedlock, though theoretically preferring the unmarried state. Of an official clerical costume no certain trace appears before the fourth century; and if it came earlier into use, as may have been the case, after the example of the Jewish church, it must have been confined, during the times of persecution, to the actual exercises of worship.

With the growth of this distinction of clergy and laity, however, the idea of the universal priesthood continued to assert itself: in Irenaeus,³ for example, and in a morbid form in the Montanists, who even allowed women to teach publicly in the church. So Tertullian, with whom *clerus* and *laici* were at one time familiar expressions, inquires, as the champion of the Montanistic reaction against the Catholic hierarchy: *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?* It is written, he continues: He hath

mentions, *De monog.* c. 12, the *ordo viduarum* among the *ordines ecclesiastici*, and even the much later Jerome (see *In Jesaiam* l. v. c. 19, 18), enumerates *quinque ecclesiae ordines, episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, fideles, catechumenos*.

¹ Πάροικοι, παρεπίδημοι, Eph. ii. 19. 1 Pet. ii. 11.

² or parish, παροικία.

³ *Adv. haer.* iv. 8, § 3.

made us kings and priests. Regard to the church alone has made the distinction between clergy and laity. Where there is no college of ministers, thou administerest the sacrament, thou baptizest, thou art a priest for thyself alone. And where there are three of you, though you be only laymen,¹ there is a church. For each one lives by his faith, and there is no respect of persons with God.² All, therefore, which the clergy considered peculiar to them, he claimed for the laity as the common sacerdotal privilege of all Christians.

Even in the catholic church an acknowledgment of the general priesthood showed itself in the custom of requiring the baptized to say the Lord's prayer before the assembled congregation. With reference to this, Jerome says: *Sacerdotium laici, id est baptisma*. The congregation also, at least in the West, retained for a long time the right of approval and rejection in the choice of its ministers, even of the bishop. Clement of Rome expressly requires the assent of the whole congregation for a valid election;³ and Cyprian terms this an apostolic and almost universal regulation.⁴ According to his testimony it obtained also in Rome, and was observed in the case of his contemporary, Cornelius.⁵ Sometimes in the filling of a vacant bishopric the "suffragium" of the people preceded the "judicium" of the clergy of the diocese. Cyprian, and afterwards Athanasius, Ambrose, and other eminent prelates, were in a manner pressed into the bishopric in this democratic way. Cyprian, with all his high-church proclivities, declares it his principle to do nothing as bishop without the advice of the presbyters and deacons, and the consent of the people.⁶ A peculiar influence, which even the clergy could not withstand, attached to the confessors, and it was sometimes abused by them, as in their advocacy of the

¹ *Licet laici*.

² *De exhort. cast. c. 7. Comp. also De monog. 7, 12; De Bapt. 17; De orat. 18*

³ *1 Cor. 44: Συνευδοκίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης.*

⁴ *Ep. lx. 3-4 (ed. Goldhorn)*

⁵ *Ep. lv. 7: Factus est Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum paene omnium testimonio, de plebis quae tum adfuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio*

⁶ *Sine consensu plebis.*

lapsed, who denied Christ in the Decian persecution. Finally, we notice cases where the function of teaching was actually exercised by laymen. The bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea allowed the learned Origen to expound the Bible to their congregations before his ordination, and appealed to the example of several bishops in the East. Even in the Apostolical Constitutions there occurs, under the name of the apostle Paul, the direction: "Though a man be a layman, if experienced in the delivery of instruction, and morally worthy, he may teach; for they shall be all taught of God." The fourth general council at Carthage (398) prohibited laymen from teaching in the presence of clergymen and without their consent, implying at the same time, that with such permission the thing might be done. It is worthy of notice that a number of the most eminent church teachers of this period, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, were either laymen, or at most only presbyters.

§ 106. *New Church Officers.*

The expansion of the church, the development of her cultus, and the tendency towards hierarchical pomp, led to the multiplication of offices below the diaconate, which formed the ordines minores. About the middle of the third century the following new officers are mentioned:—

1. Sub-deacons, or under-helpers;¹ assistants and deputies of the deacons; the only one of these subordinate offices for which a formal ordination was required. Opinions differ as to its value.
2. Readers,² who read the Scriptures in the assembly and had charge of the church books.
3. Acolyths,³ attendants of the bishops in their official duties and processions.

¹ Ὑποδιάκονοι, subdiaconi, perhaps the same as the ἐπηφύροι of the New Testament and the earlier fathers.

² Ἀναγνώσται, lectores, mentioned by Tertullian.

³ Ἀκόλυθι, acolythi.

4. Exorcists,¹ who, by prayer and the laying on of hands, cast out the devil from the possessed,² and from catechumens, and frequently assisted in baptism. This power had been formerly considered a free gift of the Holy Ghost.

5. Precentors,³ for the musical parts of the liturgy, psalms, benedictions, responses, etc.

6. Janitors or sextons,⁴ who took care of the religious meeting-rooms, and at a later period also of the church-yards.

7. Besides these there were in the larger churches catechists, and, where the church language in the worship was not understood, as in Alexandria, interpreters; but the interpreting was commonly done by presbyters, deacons, or readers.

The bishop Cornelius of Rome (†252), in a letter on the Novatian schism,⁵ gives the number of officers in his church as follows: Forty-six presbyters, probably corresponding to the number of the meeting-houses of the Christians in the city; seven deacons, after the model of the church at Jerusalem, Acts vi.; seven subdeacons; forty-two acolyths, and fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors.

As to the ordines majores, the deacons during this period rose in importance. In addition to their original duties of caring for the poor and sick, they baptized, distributed the sacramental cup, said the church prayers, not seldom preached, and were confidential advisers, sometimes even delegates and vicars of the bishops. This last is true especially of the archdeacon, who does not appear, however, till the fourth century. The presbyters, on the contrary, though above the deacons, were now overtopped by the new office of bishop, in which the entire government of the church became centred.

§ 107. *Origin of the Episcopate.*

Besides the works already cited, compare the special works and essays published since 1837, by ROTHE (close of his "Anfänge"), HEFELE (R. C.)

¹ Ἐξορκισταί, exorcistae.

² Ψάλται, psalmistae, cantores.

⁵ In Euseb. vi. 43.

² Δαιμονιζόμενοι, ἐνεργούμενοι.

⁴ Θυρωροί, πυλωροί, ostiarii, janitores

BAUR, HILGENFELD, BUNSEN, PETERMANN, CURETON, LIPSIVS, UHLHORN etc., on the *Ignatian* controversy. (Comp. § 119.)

The most important and also the most difficult phenomenon of our period in the department of church organization is the rise and development of the episcopate. This institution comes to view in the second century as the supreme spiritual office, and is retained to this day by all Roman and Greek Christendom, and even by a large part of the Protestant church. A form of government so ancient and so widely adopted, can be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition of a religious need, namely, the need of a tangible outward representation, and centralization, to illustrate and embody to the people their relation to Christ and to God, and the unity of the church. It is therefore inseparable from the catholic principle of authority and mediation, while the protestant principle of freedom and direct intercourse of the believer with Christ, consistently carried out, infringes the strict episcopal constitution, and tends to ministerial equality.

During the lifetime of the apostles, those eye and ear-witnesses of the divine-human life of Jesus, and the inspired organs of the Holy Ghost, there was no room for proper bishops; and those who were so called, must have held only a subordinate place. The church, too, in the first century was as yet a strictly supernatural organization, a stranger in this world, standing with one foot in eternity, and longing for the second coming of her heavenly bridegroom. But in the episcopal constitution the church provided an extremely simple but compact and freely expansible organization, planted foot firmly upon earth, became an institution for the education of her infant people, and, as chiliastic hopes receded, fell into the path of quiet historical development; yet unquestionably she thus incurred also the danger of a secularization, which reached its height just when the hierarchy became complete in the Roman church, and which finally necessitated a reformation on the basis of apostolical Christianity. That this secularization began with the growing power of the bishops even before Constantine and the Byzan

tine court orthodoxy, we perceive, for instance, in the lax penitential discipline, the avarice, and the corruption with which Hippolytus, in the ninth book of his *Philosophoumena*, reproaches Zephyrinus and Callistus, the Roman bishops of his time (202–223); also in the example of the bishop Paul of Antioch, who was deposed in 269 on almost incredible charges, not only against his doctrine, but still more against his moral character;¹ and finally from the testimony of Origen,² who complains, that there are, especially in the larger cities, overseers of the people of God, who seek to outdo the pomp of heathen potentates, would surround themselves, like the emperors, with a body-guard, and make themselves terrible and inaccessible to the poor.

We consider, first, the origin of the episcopate. The unreliable character of our documents and traditions from this transition period between the close of the apostolic church and the beginning of the post-apostolic, leaves large room here for critical research and combination. First of all comes the question: Was the episcopate directly or indirectly of apostolic (Johannean) origin, as the Catholics and the Anglicans, and in a modified sense also some of the recent Protestant divines of Germany, maintain? Or did it arise, as the Presbyterians and most Protestant historians assert, not till after the death of the apostles, and develop itself from the presidency of the congregational presbytery?

For the former view the following points may be made: (1) The position of James, who evidently stood at the head of the church of Jerusalem,³ and is called bishop, at least in the pseudo-Clementine literature, and in fact supreme bishop of the whole church.⁴ This instance, however, stands quite alone, and does not warrant an inference in regard to the entire church. (2) The office of the assistants of the apostles, like Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphroditus, Luke, Mark, who had a sort of supervision of several churches and congregational officers, and in a measure represented the apostles. But, in any case, these were not limited, at least during the life of the apostles, each to a par-

¹ Comp. § 82, and Euseb. vii. 27–30.

² Acts xv. 13; xxi. 18.

³ In Matt. f. 420, ed. Huet.

⁴ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπων.

ticular diocese; they were itinerant evangelists and legates of the apostles; only the doubtful tradition of a later day assigns them distinct bishoprics. (3) The angels of the seven churches of Asia,¹ who, if regarded as individuals, look very like the later bishops, and indicate a monarchical shaping of the church government in the days of John. But, apart from the various interpretations of the Apocalyptic *ἄγγελοι*, that office appears not co-ordinate with the apostolate of John, but subordinate to it. (4) The testimony of Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of John, in his seven (or three) epistles from the beginning of the second century (even according to the shorter Syriac version), presupposes the episcopate, in distinction from the presbyterate, as already existing, though as a new institution, yet in its growth. (5) The statement of Clement of Alexandria,² that John instituted bishops after his return from Patmos; and the accounts of Irenaeus,³ Tertullian,⁴ Eusebius,⁵ and Jerome,⁶ that the same apostle nominated and ordained Polycarp (with whom Irenaeus was personally acquainted) bishop of Smyrna. (6) The uncertain tradition in Eusebius,⁷ who derived it probably from Hegesippus, that the surviving apostles and disciples of the apostles, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, elected Symeon, the son of Klopas and a cousin of Jesus, bishop of that city and successor of James. But this arrangement at best was merely local, and not general. (7) The tradition of the churches of Antioch and Rome, which trace their line of bishops back to apostolic institution. (8) A passage in the second of the Pfaff Fragments of Irenaeus, which speaks of *θεύσεσθαι τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις*; by which Rothe understands the institution of the episcopate. But these words are at all events of unsettled interpretation, and, according to the connexion, relate not to the government of the church at all, but to the celebration of the eucharist. (9) Equally uncertain is the conclusion drawn from a passage in the First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians,⁸ where it is said, that the apostles,

¹ Rev. i. 20.² Quis dives salvus, c. 42.³ Adv. haer. III. 3.⁴ De praescr. haer. c. 32.⁵ H. E. III. 36.⁶ Catal. sub. Polyc.⁷ H. E. III. 11, comp. the fragment of Hegesippus, IV. 22.⁸ C. 44.

foreseeing the future controversy about the name of the episcopal (ministerial) office,¹ appointed bishops (i. e. presbyters² and deacons,) and *afterwards* gave order,³ that when *they* should die, other approved men should follow *them* in office.⁴ Rothe refers “they” and “them” to the apostles as the main subject. But these words are usually understood of the congregational officers just before mentioned, and in this case the “other approved men” are not diocesan bishops, but presbyter-bishops and deacons. This view is sustained by the connexion. The difficulty in the Corinthian congregation was a rebellion, not against a single bishop, but a number of presbyter-bishops, and Clement reminds them that the apostles instituted this office not only for the first generation, but provided for a permanent succession, and that the officers were appointed for life, and could therefore not be deposed, so long as they discharged their duties. Hence he goes on to say, immediately after the disputed passage in chapter 44, “Wherefore we think that those cannot justly be thrown out of their ministry, who were appointed either by them (the apostles), or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole congregation; and who have with all lowliness and innocency ministered to the flock of Christ, in peace, and without self-interest, and were for a long time commended by all.” (10) Finally, the philosophical consideration, that the universal and uncontested spread of the episcopate in the second century cannot be satisfactorily explained without the presumption of at least the indirect sanction of the apostles.

¹ Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, which signifies here the ministerial office in general. Comp. Acts i. 20, and the Septuagint in Ps. cix. 8; Num. iv. 16; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18.

² Comp. c. 42.

³ Ἐπινομή; an obscure word, which Rothe ingeniously translates, “testamentary direction,” and identifies with the δεύτεροι διατάξεις of Irenaeus. The drift of the passage, however, does not so much depend upon the meaning of this word as upon the question whether the apostles or the congregational officers are the grammatical subjects of the following verb, κοιμηθῶσιν.

⁴ The whole passage in c. 44 reads thus: Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησ. Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους (i.e. presbyter-bishops and deacons), καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπινομήν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως, ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωται ἕτεροι δοδוקμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.

In favor of the second view, which denies the apostolic origin of the episcopate as a *separate* office or order, and derives it by way of human, though natural and necessary development from the presidency of the original congregational presbyterate, are the following facts:—(1) The undeniable identity of presbyters and bishops in the New Testament,¹ conceded even by the best interpreters among the church fathers, by Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. (2) Later in the second century the two terms are still used in like manner for the same office. The Roman bishop Clement, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians,² says, that the apostles, in the newly-founded churches, appointed the first fruits of the faith, i. e. the first converts, ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. He here omits the πρεσβύτεροι, as Paul does in Phil. i. 1, for the simple reason that they are in his view identical with ἐπίσκοποι; while, conversely, in c. 57 he enjoins subjection to presbyters, without mentioning bishops.³ Clement of Alexandria distinguishes, it is true, the deaconate, the presbyterate, and the episcopate; but he supposes only a two-fold official character, that of presbyters, and that of deacons;—a view which found advocates so late as the middle ages, even in pope Urban II., A.D. 1091. Lastly, Irenaeus, towards the close of the second century, though himself a bishop, makes only a relative difference between episcopi and presbyteri; speaks of successions of the one in the same sense as of the other; terms the office of the latter episcopatus; and calls the bishops of Rome πρεσβύτεροι.⁴ Sometimes, it is true, he appears to use the term πρεσβύτεροι in a more general sense, for the old men, the fathers.⁵ But in any case his language shows that the distinction between the two offices was at that time still relative and indefinite. (3) The

¹ Acts xx. 17-28. Phil. i. 1. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, 8-13. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. Comp. the author's Hist. of the Apost. Ch. §§ 132, 133, p. 522-531 (N. Y. ed.).

² C. 42.

³ The ἡγούμενοι, c. 1, also, and the προσηνέμενοι, c. 21, are not bishops of the later sort, as might be inferred even from the plural number, but the congregational officers collectively, as in Heb. xiii. 7; xvii. 24.

⁴ Adv. haer. iii. 2. § 2; 3, § 2. iv. 26, § 2, § 4 and § 5. Comp. also, the letter of Irenaeus to the Roman bishop Victor in Euseb., v. 24.

⁵ Comp. 2 Jno. i. and 3 Jno. i.

express testimony of the learned Jerome,¹ that the churches originally, before divisions arose through the instigation of Satan, were governed by the common council of the presbyters, and not till a later period was one of the presbyters placed at the head, to watch over the church and suppress schisms. He traces the difference of the office simply to ecclesiastical custom as distinct from divine institution.² (4) The custom of the church of Alexandria, where, from the evangelist Mark down to the middle of the third century, the twelve presbyters elected one of their number president, and called him bishop. This fact rests on the authority of Jerome,³ and is confirmed independently by the Annals of the Alexandrian patriarch, Eutychius, of the tenth century.⁴ The latter states that Mark instituted in that city a patriarch (this is an anachronism) and twelve presbyters, who should fill the vacant patriarchate by electing and *ordaining* to that office one of their number and then electing a new presbyter, so as always to retain the number twelve. He relates, moreover, that down to the time of Demetrius, at the end of the second century, there was no bishop in Egypt besides the one at Alexandria; consequently there could have been no episcopal ordination except by going out of the province.

The only satisfactory conclusion from these various facts and traditions seems to be, that the episcopate proceeded, both in the descending and ascending scale, from the apostolate and the original presbyterate conjointly, as a contraction of the former and an expansion of the latter, without either express concert or general regulation of the apostles, neither of which, at least, can

¹ Ad Titum i. 7. Comp. Epist. 83 and 85.

² Ad Tit. i. 7: Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt, se ex ecclesiae consuetudine ei, qui sibi praepositus fuerit, esse subjectos, ita episcopi noverint, se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicae veritate presbyteris esse majores et in commune debere ecclesiam regere. The Roman deacon Hilary (Ambrosiaster) says, ad 1 Tim. iii. 10: Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est. Comp. also Chrysostom Hom. xi. in epist. 1 ad Tim. iii. 8.

³ Epist. ad Evangelum (Opp. iv. p. 802, ed. Martinay): Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclum et Dionysium episcopos presbyteri semper unum **ex** se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant, quomodo si **exer**citus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi elegant de se, quem industrium noverint **et** archidiaconum vocent.

⁴ Ed. Oxon. 1658, p. 331.

be historically proved. It arose instinctively, as it were, in that transition period between the first and second centuries, probably before the death of John. It grew, in part, out of the universal demand for a continuation of, or substitute for, the apostolic church government, and this, so far as it was transmissible at all, very naturally passed first to the most eminent disciples and fellow-laborers of the apostles, to Mark, Luke, Timothy, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, which accounts for the fact that tradition makes them all bishops in the prominent sense of the term. It was further occasioned by the need of a unity in the presbyterial government of congregations, which, in the nature of the case and according to the analogy of the Jewish *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ὡρχή*,¹ required a head or president. This president was called bishop, at first only by eminence, as *primus inter pares*; afterwards in the exclusive sense. In the smaller churches there was, perhaps, from the beginning, only one presbyter, who of himself formed this centre, like the chorepiscopi or country-bishops² in the fourth century. The dioceses of the bishops in Asia Minor and North Africa, owing to their large number, in the second and third century, can hardly have exceeded the extent of respectable pastoral charges. James of Jerusalem, on the other hand, and his immediate successors, whose positions in many respects were altogether peculiar, seem to have been the only bishops in Palestine. Somewhat similar was the state of things in Egypt, where, down to Demetrius (A.D. 190-232), we find only the one bishop of Alexandria.

We cannot therefore assume any strict uniformity. But the whole church spirit of the age tended towards centralization; it everywhere felt a demand for compact, solid unity; and this inward bent, amidst the surrounding dangers of persecution and heresy, carried the church irresistibly towards the episcopate. In so critical and stormy a time, the principle, union is strength, division is weakness, prevailed over all. In fact, the existence of the church at that period may be said to have depended in a great measure on the preservation and promotion of unity, and

¹ Mk. v. 35, 36, 38. Lu. viii. 41, 49. Acts xviii. 8, 17.

² Χωρεπίσκοποι.

that in an outward, tangible form, suited to the existing grade of culture. Such a unity was offered in the bishop, who held a monarchical, or more properly a patriarchal relation to the congregation. In the bishop was found the visible representative of Christ, the great Head of the whole church. In the bishop, therefore, all sentiments of piety found a centre. In the bishop the whole religious posture of the people towards God and towards Christ had its outward support and guide. And in proportion as every church pressed towards a single centre, this central personage must acquire a peculiar importance and subordinate the other presbyters to itself; though, at the same time, as the language of Clement and Irenaeus, the state of things in Egypt, and even in North Africa, and the testimony of Jerome and other fathers, clearly prove, the remembrance of the original equality could not be entirely blotted out, but continued to show itself in various ways.

Whatever may be thought, therefore, of the origin and the divine right of the episcopate, its historical necessity, and its adaptation to the wants of the church at the time, no unprejudiced historian can deny.

But, then, this primitive catholic episcopal system must by no means be confounded with the later hierarchy. The dioceses especially, excepting those of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, must have long remained very small, if we look at the number of professing Christians. In the Apocalypse seven such centres of unity are mentioned within a comparatively small compass in Asia Minor; and in 258 Cyprian assembled a council of eighty-seven bishops of North Africa. The functions of the bishops were not yet strictly separated from those of the presbyters, and it was only by degrees that ordination, and, in the Western church, confirmation also, came to be intrusted exclusively to them.

§ 108. *Development of the Episcopate.*

It is matter of fact that the episcopal form of government was universally established in the eastern and western church as early as the middle of the second century. Even the heretical

sects, at least the Ebionites, as we must infer from the commendation of the episcopacy in the pseudo-Clementine literature were organized on this plan, as well as the later schismatic parties of Novatians, Donatists, etc. But it is equally undeniable, that the episcopate reached its complete form only step by step. In the period before us we must note three stages in this development connected with the names of Ignatius in Syria († 107 or 116), Irenaeus in Gaul († 202), and Cyprian in North Africa († 258).

The episcopate first appears, as distinct from the presbyterate, though as yet a young institution, greatly needing commendation, in the famous seven (or three) Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of the apostles. We have three different versions of these Epistles, but only one of them can be genuine; either the smaller Greek version, or the lately discovered Syriac.¹ In the latter, which contains only three epistles, most of the passages on the episcopate are wanting, indeed; yet the leading features of the institution appear even here, and we can recognise *ex ungue leonem*. Nor is it, by-the-way, much to the credit of the hierarchical system, that its very oldest documents are of such equivocal sort, and subject to the suspicion of fraudulent interpolation. The substance of these epistles (with the exception of that to the Romans, in which, singularly enough, not a word is said about bishops) consists of earnest exhortations to obey the bishop and maintain the unity of the church against the Judaistic and docetic heretics. With the near prospect and the most ardent desire of martyrdom, the author has no more fervent wish than the perfect inward and outward unity of the faithful; and to this the episcopate seems to him indispensable. In his view Christ is the invisible supreme head, the one great universal bishop of all the churches scattered over the earth. The human bishop is the centre of unity for the single congregation, and stands in it as the vicar of Christ and even of God.² The people, therefore, should unconditionally obey him, and c

¹ Comp. § 119.

² Ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τόπον θεοῦ προκαθήμενος; each bishop being thus a sort of pope.

nothing without his will. Blessed are they who are one with the bishop, as the church is with Christ, and Christ with the Father, so that all harmonizes in unity. Apostasy from the bishop is apostasy from Christ, who acts in and through the bishops as his organs.

The peculiarity in this Ignatian view is that the bishop appears in it as the head and centre of a single congregation, and not as equally the representative of the whole church; also, that (as in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies) he is the vicar of Christ, and not, as in the later view, merely the successor of the apostles,—the presbyters and deacons around him being represented as those successors; and finally, that there are no distinctions of order among the bishops, no trace of a primacy; all are fully coördinate organs of Christ, who provides for himself in them, as it were, a sensible, perceptible omnipresence in the church.

In all these points the idea of the episcopate in Irenaeus, the great opponent of Gnosticism, is either lower or higher. This father represents the institution as an office of the whole church, and as the continuation of the apostolate, as the vehicle of the catholic tradition, and the support of doctrinal unity in opposition to heretical vagaries. He exalts the bishops of the original apostolic churches, above all the church of Rome, and speaks with great emphasis of an unbroken episcopal succession.¹

The same view we find also in the earlier writings of Tertullian;² but he afterwards, in the chiliastic and democratic cause of Montanism, broke with the episcopal hierarchy, and presented against it the antithesis that the church does not consist of bishops,³ and that the laity are also priests.

The old catholic high-church episcopalianism is most clearly and vigorously represented by Cyprian, and as it were embodied in him. He considers the bishops as the bearers of the Holy Ghost, who passed from Christ to the apostles, from them by ordination to the bishops, propagates himself in an unbroken line of succession, and gives efficacy to all religious exercises

¹ Comp. Adv. haer. iii. 3, § 1, 2; 4, 1; iv. 33, § 8. ² De praescr. haer. c. 32, 36

³ Non ecclesia numerus episcoporum. De pudic. c. 21

Hence they are also the pillars of the unity of the church; nay, in a certain sense they are the church itself. "The bishop," says he, "is in the church, and the church in the bishop, and if any one is not with the bishop he is not in the church."¹ And this is the same with him as to say, he is no Christian. Cyprian is thoroughly imbued with the idea of the solidary unity of the episcopate,—the many bishops exercising only one office in solidum, each within his diocese, and each at the same time representing in himself the whole office.²

But with all this, the bishop still appears in Cyprian in the closest connexion with the presbyters. He undertook no important matter without their advice. The fourth general council, at Carthage, A.D. 398, even declared the sentence of a bishop, without the concurrence of the lower clergy, void, and decreed that in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters, with the bishop, should lay their hands on the candidate.³ The ordination of a bishop was performed by the neighboring bishops, requiring at least three in number. In Egypt, however, so long as there was but one bishop there, presbyters must have performed the consecration, which Eutychius⁴ and Hilary⁵ expressly assert was the case.

Besides this catholic formation of the episcopate, the kindred monarchical hierarchy of the Ebionistic sects deserves attention, as it meets us in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies.⁶ Chronologi-

¹ Epist. lxvi. 3. Comp. Ep. lv. 20: Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesia non est.

² De unit. eccl. c. 5: Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Comp. Ep. lv. 20. Quum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concord' numerositate diffusus.

³ C. 3: Presbyter quum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui praesentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.

⁴ Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandr. Annal. interpr. Pocockio. Oxon. 1658, I. p. 331: Constituit evangelista Marcus una cum Hakania patriarcha duodecim presbyteros, qui nempe cum patriarcha manerent, adeo ut cum vacaret patriarchatus unum & duodecim presbyteris eligerent, cuius capiti reliqui undecim manus imponentes ipsi benedicerent et patriarcham crearent.

⁵ Or Ambrosiaster, Ad Eph. iv. 11.

⁶ Comp. § 69.

cally this falls in the middle of the second century, between Ignatius and Irenaeus, and forms a sort of transition from the former to the latter; though it cannot exactly be said to have influenced the catholic church. It is rather a heretical counterpart of the orthodox episcopate. The author of the pseudo-Clementina, like Ignatius, represents the bishop as the vicar of Christ,¹ and at the same time, according to the view of Irenaeus, as the vicar and successor of the apostles;² but outstrips both in his high hierarchical expressions, such as *κάθεδρα, θρόνος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, and in his idea of the primacy, or of a universal church monarchy, which he finds, however, not as Irenaeus suggests and Cyprian more distinctly states, in Peter and the Roman see, but, agreeably to his Judaistic turn, in James of Jerusalem, the “ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπων.”³

§ 109. *Beginnings of the Metropolitan and Patriarchal Systems.*

Though the bishops were equal in their dignity and powers as successors of the apostles, they gradually fell into different ranks, according to the ecclesiastical and political importance of their several districts. On the lowest level stood the bishops of the country churches, the chorepiscopi,⁴ who though not mentioned till the fourth century, probably originated at an earlier period. Among the city bishops again, the metropolitans rose above the rest; that is, the bishops of the capital cities⁵ of provinces. They presided in the provincial synods, and, as *primi inter pares*, ordained the bishops of the province. The metropolitan system appears, from the Council of Nice in 325, to have been already in operation, and was afterwards more fully carried out in the East. In North Africa the oldest bishop, hence called *senex*, stood as *primas*, at the head of his province; but the bishop of Carthage enjoyed the highest consideration, and could summon general councils.

Still older and more important is the distinction of apos-

¹ Hom. iii. 60, 66, 70. Ep. Clem. ad Jac. 17. Comp. Recogn. iii. 66.

² Hom. xi. 36. Recogn. iii. 66; vi. 15.

³ Hom. xi. 35. Recogn. iv. 35

⁴ Χωρεπίσκοποι.

⁵ Μητροπολίται. Hence μητροπολίται.

tolie mother-churches,¹ such as those at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. In the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian they were held in the highest regard, as the chief bearers of the pure church tradition. Among these Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome were most prominent, because they were the capitals respectively of the three divisions² of the Roman empire, and centres of trade and intercourse, combining with their apostolic origin the greatest political weight. To the bishop of Antioch fell all Syria as his metropolitan district; to the bishop of Alexandria, all Egypt; to the bishop of Rome, central and lower Italy, without definite boundaries.

Here we have the germs of the eparchal or patriarchal system, to which the Greek church to this day adheres. The name patriarch was at first, particularly in the East, an honorary title for all bishops, and was not till the fourth century exclusively appropriated to the bishops of the three, or, if we add Constantinople and Jerusalem, the five, ecclesiastical and political capitals of the Roman empire. So in the West the term *papa*, afterwards appropriated by the Roman bishop, as *summus pontifex*, *vicarius Christi*, was current for a long time in a more general application.

§ 110. *Germs of the Papacy.*

BLONDEL: *Traité historique de la primauté en l'église*. Genève. 1641. SALMASIUS: *De primatu Papae*. Lugd. Bat. 1645. IS BARROW: *The Pope's Supremacy*. Lond. 1680 (new ed. Oxf. 1836. N. York, 1845). ROTHENSEE (R.C.): *Der Primat des Papstes in allen christlichen Jahrhunderten*, 3 vols. Mainz, 1836-38 (I. 1-98). KENRICK (R. C., archbishop of Baltimore): *The Primacy of the Apostolic See vindicated*. N. York, 4th ed. 1855. R. I. WILBERFORCE (formerly archdeacon in the Anglican church; died in the Roman church, 1857): *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority; or Reasons for recalling my subscriptions to the Royal Supremacy*. Lond. 1854 (ch. vi.-x.). J. E. RIDDLE: *The History of the Papacy to the Period of the Reformation*. Lond. 1856. 2 vols. (Chapter I, p. 2-113; chiefly taken from Schröckh and Planck). THOMAS GREENWOOD: *Cathedra Petri. A Political History of the great Latin Patriarchate*. Lond. 1856.—On the chronology of the papacy comp. PHILIPPUS JAFFÉ: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum 1198*. Berol. 1851.

¹ *Sedes apostolicae, matricēs ecclesiae.*

² *Ἐπαρχίαι.*

Among the great bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, the Roman bishop combined all the conditions for a primacy, which, from a purely honorary distinction, gradually became the basis of a supremacy of jurisdiction. The same propension to monarchical unity, which created out of the episcopate a centre, first for each congregation, then for each diocese, pressed on towards a visible centre for the whole church. Primacy and episcopacy grew together. In the present period we already find the faint beginnings of the papacy, in both its good and its evil features; and with them, too, the first examples of earnest protest against the abuse of its power.

The historical influences which favored the ascendancy of the Roman see were: (1) The high antiquity of the Roman church, which had been honored even by Paul with the most important doctrinal epistle of the New Testament; it was properly the only apostolic mother-church in the West, and was thus looked upon from the first by the churches of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, with peculiar reverence. (2) The labors, martyrdom, and burial at Rome of Peter and Paul, the two leading apostles. (3) The political preëminence of that metropolis of the world, which was destined to rule with the sceptre of the cross, as she had formerly ruled with the sword the European race. (4) The executive wisdom and the catholic orthodox instinct of the Roman church, which made themselves felt in this period in the three controversies on the time of easter, the penitential discipline, and the validity of heretical baptism. To these may be added, as secondary causes, her firmness under persecutions, and her benevolent care for suffering brethren, even in distant places, as celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth (180) and Eusebius.

The first example of the exercise of a sort of papal authority has been found in the letter of the Roman bishop Clement (†102) to the bereaved and distracted church of Corinth. But this epistle, full of beautiful exhortations to harmony, love, and humility, is sent, as the very introduction shows,¹ not in the bishop's own name, but in that of the Roman congregation, and

¹ Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθο.

has besides, anything but a hierarchical tone. It was a service of love, proffered by one church to another in time of need. Yet it is worthy of notice, after all, that the Roman church here meets in calm dignity the most important church of Greece, exhorts her to order and unity, and betrays a considerable degree of practical administrative wisdom.

Ignatius, as we have already remarked, knows nothing of a primacy. True, in his epistle to the Roman church, he applies to her at once, in the salutation, a host of honorable titles, and calls her, even according to the Syriac version, προαρχμένη τῆς ἀγάπης, presidens in caritate, "taking the lead in love." But he certainly does not intend by this, as the artificial interpretation of some Roman Catholic scholars, even Möhler,¹ would have it: "Head of the love-union of Christendom." He designs merely to commend the love and beneficence of that church towards others, as Dionysius of Corinth also did after the middle of the second century. The bishop of Rome is not even mentioned in the whole epistle; the church alone is addressed throughout. Far from ascribing to him a superior authority to his own, and with a lively sense of his own inferiority to the apostles, he tells the Romans: "I do not *command* you as if I were Peter or Paul; they were apostles."

Yet we unquestionably find, even before the close of the second century, unequivocal traces of an honorary pre-eminence of the Roman church.

Irenaeus calls her the greatest, the oldest (?) church, acknowledged by all, founded by the two most illustrious apostles, Peter and Paul, the church, with which, on account of her more important precedence, all Christendom must agree.² The "more important precedence" places her above the other apostolic

¹ Patol. i. 144.

² The famous passage, Adv. haer. iii. 3 § 2, is, however, only extant in Latin, and is of somewhat disputed interpretation: Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorē (according to Massuet's conjecture: potiorē) principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ab apostolis traditio. In the original Greek it probably read: Προς ταύτην ἡ ἐκκλησιαν δὲ τῶν ἰκανωτέρων ποιεῖται συνάγειν (not συναλγεῖν) ὅτι δεῖ (according to others: ἀνάγκη, natural necessity) ὅσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, etc.

churches, to which likewise a precedence is allowed. This is surely to be understood, however, as a precedence only of honor, not of jurisdiction. For when pope Victor, about the year 190, in hierarchical arrogance and intolerance, broke fellowship with the churches of Asia Minor only on the ground of their peculiar easter usage, the same Irenaeus, though agreeing with him on the disputed point itself, rebuked him very emphatically as a troubler of the peace of the church, and declared himself against a forced uniformity in such unessential matters. Nor did the Asiatic churches allow themselves to be intimidated by the dictation of Victor. They answered the Roman tradition with that of their own *sedes apostolicae*, till the council at Nice at last settled the controversy in favor of the Roman practice.

Tertullian points the heretics to the apostolic mother churches, as the chief repositories of pure doctrine; and among these gives special prominence to that of Rome, where Peter was crucified, Paul beheaded, and John immersed unhurt in boiling oil (?), and then banished to the island. Yet the same father became afterwards an opponent of Rome. He attacked its loose penitential discipline, and called the Roman bishop (probably Zephyrinus), in irony and mockery, "*pontifex maximus*" and "*episcopus episcoporum*."

So the celebrated Hippolytus, in the beginning of the third century, was a decided antagonist of the Roman bishops, Zephyrinus and Callistus, and in part on the same ground of lax discipline. But at the same time, we learn from his *Philosophoumena*, that at that time the Roman bishop already claimed an absolute power within his own jurisdiction; and that Callistus, to the great grief of part of the presbytery, laid down the principle, that a bishop can never be deposed or compelled to resign by the presbytery, even though he have committed a mortal sin.

Cyprian is clearest, both in his advocacy of the fundamental idea of the papacy, and in his protest against the mode of its application in a given case. Starting from the superiority of Peter, upon whom the Lord has built his church, and to whom he has intrusted the feeding of his sheep, in order to represent thereby the unity in the college of apostles, Cyprian transferred the same

superiority to the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of Peter, and accordingly called the Roman church the chair of Peter, and the fountain of priestly unity,¹ the root, also, and mother of the catholic church.² But on the other side, he asserts with equal energy the equality and relative independence of the bishops, as successors of the apostles, who had all an equally direct appointment from Christ. In his correspondence he uniformly addresses the Roman bishop as "brother" and "colleague," conscious of his own equal dignity and authority. And in the controversy about heretical baptism,³ he opposes pope Stephen with almost Protestant independence, accusing him of error and abuse of his power, and calling a tradition without truth an old error. Of this protest he never retracted a word.

Still more sharp and unsparing was the Cappadocian bishop, Firmilian, a disciple of Origen, on the bishop of Rome, while likewise implying a certain acknowledgment of his papacy. Firmilian charges him with folly, and with acting unworthily of his position; because, as the successor of Peter, he ought rather to further the unity of the church than to destroy it, and ought to abide on the rock foundation instead of laying a new one by recognising heretical baptism. Perhaps the bitterness of Firmilian was due partly to his friendship and veneration for Origen, who had been condemned by a council at Rome.

Nevertheless, on this question of baptism, also, as on those of easter, and of penance, the Roman church came out victorious in the end.

From this testimony it is clear, that the growing influence of the Roman see was rooted in public opinion and in the need of unity in the ancient church. It is not to be explained at all by the talents and the ambition of the incumbents. On the contrary, the personality of the thirty popes of the first three centuries falls quite remarkably into the background; though they are all

¹ *Petri cathedram atque ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.* Epist. iv. c. 19 (ed. Bal.) ad Cornelium episc. Rom. In Goldhorn's ed. Ep. lix. 19

² *Ecclesiae catholicae radicem et matricem.* Ep. xl. 2 ed. Bal. (xlviii ed. Goldh.

³ Comp. § 104.

canonized saints, and, according to a later but very doubtful tradition, were also, with two exceptions, martyrs.¹ Among them, and it may be said down to Leo the Great, about the middle of the fifth century, there was hardly one, perhaps Clement, who could compare, as a church leader, with an Ignatius, a Cyprian, and an Ambrose; or, as a theologian, with an Irenaeus, a Tertullian, an Athanasius, and an Augustine. Jerome, among his hundred and thirty-six church celebrities, brings in only four Roman bishops, Clement, Victor, Cornelius, and Damasus, and even these wrote only a few epistles. Hippolytus, in his *Philosophoumena*, written about 230, even presents two contemporaneous popes, St. Zephyrinus (202–218) and Callistus (St. Calixtus I., 218–223), from his own observation, though not without partisan feeling, in a most unfavorable light; charging the first with ignorance and avarice, the second with scandalous conduct (he is said to have been once a swindler and a fugitive slave rescued from suicide), and both of them with the Patripassian heresy. Such charges could not have been mere fabrications with so honorable an author as Hippolytus, even though he was a schismatic rival bishop to Callistus; they must have had at least some basis of fact.

It is further worthy of remark, that just the oldest links in the chain of Roman bishops are veiled in impenetrable darkness. While Tertullian and most of the Latins (and the pseudo-Clementina) make Clement the first successor of Peter, Irenaeus, Eusebius, and other Greeks (also Jerome and the Roman Catalogue) give him the third place, and put Linus² and Anacletus between him and Peter. Perhaps Linus and Anacletus acted during Peter's life as his assistants, or presided only over one part, the Jewish-Christian, Petrine portion of the church, while Clement may have had charge of the Gentile-Christian, or Pauline branch; for, at that early day, the government of the congregation was hardly so centralized as it afterwards became. Further-

¹ Irenaeus recognises among the Roman bishops from Clement to Eleutherus (177), 11 of whom he mentions by name, only one martyr, to wit, Telesphorus, of whom he says: "Ὁς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν, Adv. haer. III., c. 3, § 3. So Eusebius, H. E. V. 6. From this we may judge of the value of the Roman Catholic tradition on this point.

² 2 Tim. iv. 21.

more, the earliest fathers, with a true sense of the distinction between the apostolic and episcopal offices, do not reckon Peter among the bishops of Rome at all; and the Roman Catalogue in placing Peter in the line of bishops, is strangely regardless of Paul, whose independent labors in Rome are attested not only by tradition, but by the clear witness of his own epistles and the book of Acts.

After all, however, it must in justice be admitted that the list of Roman bishops has by far the preëminence, in age, completeness, integrity of succession, consistency of doctrine and policy, and weight of name, above every similar catalogue, not excepting those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople; and must carry great weight with every one, who grounds his views chiefly on external testimonies, without being able to rise to the free Protestant view of Christianity and its history on earth.

§ 111. *The Catholic Unity.*

(Comp. §§ 74, 76, and 108.)

Besides MÖHLER (l. c.), and especially ROTHE (l. c. p. 553-711), comp. also HERTHER: *Cyprians Lehre von der Einheit der Kirche*. Hamb. 1839. J. W. NEVIN: Cyprian; 4 articles in the "Mercersburg Review," 1852.

In connexion with Paul's idea of the unity, holiness, and universality of the church, as the body of Christ; hand in hand with the episcopal system of government; in the form of fact rather than of dogma; and in perpetual conflict with heathen persecution from without, and heretical and schismatic tendencies within—arose the idea and the institution of the *sancta ecclesia catholica*, as the Apostles' Creed has it; or, in the fuller language of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan, the *una sancta catholica apostolica ecclesia*. In both the ecumenical symbols, as even in the more indefinite creeds of the second and third centuries, on which those symbols are based, the church appears as an article of faith,¹ presupposing and necessarily following faith in the

¹ Credo eccl., yet not *in* (eis) eccl., as in the case of the Divine persons.

Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and as a holy fellowship,¹ within which the various benefits of grace, from the forgiveness of sins to the life everlasting, are enjoyed. Nor is any distinction made here between a visible and an invisible church. All catholic antiquity thought of none but the empirical, historical church, and without hesitation applied to this, while yet in the eyes of the world a small persecuted sect, those five predicates of unity, universality, holiness, exclusiveness, and apostolicity (infallibility and indestructibility were afterwards added), which are certainly inseparable from the ideal kingdom of Christ. There sometimes occur, indeed, particularly in the Novatian schism, hints of the incongruity between the empirical reality and this idea; and this incongruity became still more palpable, at least in regard to the predicate of holiness, after the abatement of the spiritual elevation of the apostolic age, the cessation of persecution, and the decay of discipline. But the unworthiness of individual members and the external servant-form of the church were not allowed to mislead as to the general objective character, which belonged to her in virtue of her union with her glorious heavenly Head. The fathers of our period all saw in the church, though with different degrees of clearness, a divine, supernatural order of things, in a certain sense the continuation of the life of Christ on earth, the temple of the Holy Ghost, the sole repository of the powers of divine life, the possessor and interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, the mother of all the faithful. She is holy because she is separated from the service of the profane world, is animated by the Holy Ghost, forms her members to holiness, and exercises the strictest discipline. She is catholic, that is (according to the precise sense of *ᾠλος*, which denotes not so much numerical totality as wholeness), complete, and alone true, in distinction from all particularistic parties and sects. Catholicity, strictly taken, includes the three marks of universality, unity, and exclusiveness, and is an essential property of the church as the body and organ of Christ, who is, in fact, the only Redeemer

¹ *Communio sanctorum.*

for all men. Equally inseparable from her is the predicate of apostolicity, that is, the historical continuity or unbroken succession, which reaches back through the bishops to the apostles, from the apostles to Christ, and from Christ to God. In the view of the fathers, every theoretical departure from this empirical, tangible, catholic church is heresy, that is, arbitrary, subjective, ever changing human opinion; every practical departure, all disobedience to her rulers is schism, or dismemberment of the body of Christ; either is rebellion against divine authority, and a heinous, if not the most heinous, sin. No heresy can reach the conception of the church, or rightly claim any one of her predicates; it forms at best a sect or party, and consequently falls within the province and the fate of human and perishing things, while the church is divine and indestructible.

This is without doubt the view of the ante-Nicene fathers, even of the speculative and spiritualistic Alexandrians. But the most important personages in the development of the doctrine concerning the church are, again, Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Cyprian. Their whole doctrine of the episcopate is intimately connected with their doctrine of the catholic unity, and determined by it. For the episcopate is of value in their eyes only as the indispensable means of maintaining and promoting this unity; while they are compelled to regard the bishops of heretics and schismatics as rebels and antichrists.

In the Epistles of Ignatius the unity of the church, in the form and through the medium of the episcopate, is the fundamental thought and the leading matter of exhortation. The author calls himself a man prepared for union.¹ He also is the first to use the term catholic in the ecclesiastical sense, when he says:² "Where Christ Jesus is, there is the catholic church;" that is, the closely united and full totality of his people. Only in her, according to his view, can we eat the bread of God; he, who follows a schismatic, inherits not the kingdom of God.³ We meet similar views, although not so clearly and strongly stated,

¹ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὴν ἑνωσιν αὐτοῦτοις ἐκκεντρωμένος.

² Ad Smyrn. c. 8.

³ Ad Ephes. c. 5. Ad Trall. c. 7. Ad Philad. c. 3. etc.

in the Roman Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the letter of the church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, and in the Shepherd of Hermas.

Irenaeus speaks much more at large respecting the church. He calls her the haven of rescue, the way of salvation, the entrance to life, the paradise in this world, of whose trees, to wit, the holy Scriptures, we may eat, excepting the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he takes as a type of heresy. The church is inseparable from the Holy Ghost; it is his home, and indeed his only dwelling-place on earth. "Ubi ecclesia," says he,¹ putting the church first, in the genuine catholic spirit, "ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia." (Protestantism would say, conversely: "Where the Spirit of God is, there is the church, and where the church is, there is the Spirit of God and all grace.") Only on the bosom of the church, continues he, can we be nursed to life. To her must we flee, to be made partakers of the Holy Ghost; separation from her is separation from the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. Heretics, in his view, are enemies of the truth and sons of Satan, and will be swallowed up by hell, like the company of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Characteristic in this respect is the well-known legend, which he relates, about the meeting of the apostle John with the Gnostic Cerinthus, and of Polycarp with Marcion, the "first-born of Satan."

Tertullian is the first to make that comparison of the church with Noah's ark, which has since become classical; and he likewise attributes heresies to the devil, without any qualification. But as to schism, he was himself guilty of it since he joined the Montanists and bitterly opposed the Catholics in questions of discipline.

Even Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, with all their spiritualistic and idealizing turn of mind, are no exception here. The latter, in the words: "Extra hanc domum, id est extra ecclesiam, nemo salvatur,"² brings out the principle of the catholic exclusiveness as unequivocally as Cyprian. Yet we find in

¹ Adv. haer. iii. 24.

² Hom. 3 in Josuam, c. 5.

him, together with very severe judgments of heretics, mild and tolerant expressions also; and he even supposes, on the ground of Rom. ii. 6 sqq., that in the future life honest Jews and heathens will attain a suitable reward, a low grade of blessedness, though not the "life everlasting" in the proper sense.—Of the other Greek divines of the third century, Methodius in particular, an opponent of Origen, takes high views of the church, and in his Symposium poetically describes it as "the garden of God in the beauty of eternal spring, shining in the richest splendor of immortalizing fruits and flowers;" as the virginal, unspotted, ever young and beautiful royal bride of the divine Logos.

Finally, Cyprian, in his Epistles, and especially in his tract: *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, written in the year 251, amidst the distractions of the Novatian schism, and not without an intermixture of party spirit, has most distinctly and most forcibly developed the old catholic doctrine of the church, her unity, universality, and exclusiveness. The church, he here teaches, was founded from the first by Christ on Peter alone, that, with all the equality of power among the apostles, unity might still be kept prominent as essential to her being. She has ever since remained one, in unbroken episcopal succession; as there is only one sun, though his rays are everywhere diffused. Try once to separate the ray from the sun; the unity of the light allows no division. Break the branch from the tree; it can produce no fruit. Cut off the brook from the fountain; it dries up. Out of this empirical orthodox church, episcopally organized and centralized in Rome, Cyprian can imagine no Christianity at all;¹ not only among the Gnostics and other radical heretics, but even among the Novatians, who varied from the Catholics in no essential point of doctrine, but only elected an opposition bishop in the interest of their rigorous penitential discipline. Whoever separates himself from the catholic church is a foreigner, a profane person, an enemy, condemns himself, and must be shunned

¹ *Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesia non est.*

No one can have God for his father, who has not her for his mother.¹ As well might one out of the ark of Noah have escaped the flood, as one out of the church be saved;² because she alone is the bearer of the Holy Ghost and of all grace.

In the controversy on heretical baptism Cyprian carried out the principle of exclusiveness even more consistently than the Roman church. For he entirely rejected such baptism, while Stephen held it valid, and thus had to concede, in strict consistency, the possibility of regeneration, and hence of salvation, outside the Catholic church. Here is a point where even the Roman system, generally so consistent, has a loophole of liberality, and practically gives up her theoretical principle of exclusiveness. But in carrying out this principle, even in persistent opposition to the pope, in whom he saw the successor of Peter and the visible centre of unity, Cyprian plainly denied the supremacy of Roman jurisdiction and the existence of an infallible tribunal for the settlement of doctrinal controversies, and protested against identifying the church in general with the church of Rome. And if he had the right of such protest in favor of strict exclusiveness, should not the Greek church, and above all the Evangelical, much rather have the right of protest against the Roman exclusiveness, and in favor of a more free and comprehensive conception of the church?

While we freely acknowledge the profound and beautiful truth at the bottom of this old catholic doctrine of the church, and the historical necessity of it for that period of persecution, as well as for the great missionary work among the barbarians of the middle ages, we cannot but perceive that the doctrine rested in part on a fallacy, which, in course of time, after the union of the church with the state, or, in other words, with the world, became more and more glaring, and provoked an internal protest of ever-growing force. It blindly identified the spiritual unity of the church with unity of organization, insisted on outward uniformity at the expense of free development, and con-

¹ *Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem.*

² *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*

founded the faulty empirical church, or a temporary phase of the development of Christianity, with the ideal and eternal kingdom of Christ, which will not be perfect in its manifestation until the glorious second coming of its Head.

Finally, no effort after outward unity could prevent the distinction of an Oriental and Occidental church from showing itself at this early period, in language, customs, and theology;—a distinction which afterwards led to a schism to this day unhealed.

§ 112. *Councils.*

C. J. HEFELE (R. C.): *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg. Vol. I., 1855 (p. 69-118). E. B. PUSEY: *The Councils of the Church*, from the Council of Jerusalem, A.D. 51, to the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381; chiefly as to their constitution, but also as to their objects and history. Lond. 1857.

Besides the mutual intercourse of the bishops, councils¹ were an important means of maintaining and promoting ecclesiastical unity. They were the highest organs of legislation and control in the church, and especially of the settlement of doctrinal controversies. Though having precedent and sanction in the apostolical council at Jerusalem,² they do not occur distinctly till the middle of the second century in the disputes concerning Montanism and Easter. At the beginning of the third century, first in Greece, where the spirit of association had continued strong since the days of the Achaean league, and then in Asia and North Africa, regular provincial synods were formed. These were held, so far as the stormy circumstances allowed, once or twice a year, in the metropolis, under the presidency of the metropolitan, who thus gradually acquired a supervision over the other bishops of the province.

The meetings were public, and the people of the community around sometimes made their influence felt. In the time of Cyprian presbyters, confessors and laymen took an active part, a cus-

Concilium, first used in the ecclesiastical sense by Tertullian, *De jejun.* c. 13 *σύναιος*, first in the pseudo-Apostolical *Constit.*, v. 20, and the *Canons*, c. 36 or 38.

² A.D. 50. Acts xv. and Gal ii.

tom which seems to have the sanction of apostolic practice.¹ At the Synod which met about 256, in the controversy on heretical baptism, there were present eighty-seven bishops, very many priests and deacons, and “maxima pars plebis;”² and in the synods concerning the restoration of the Lapsi, Cyprian convened besides the bishops, his clergy, the “confessores,” and “laicos stantes” (i. e. in good standing).³ Nor was this practice confined to North Africa. We meet it in Syria, at the synods convened on account of Paul of Samosata (264–269), and in Spain at the council of Elvira. Origen, who was merely a presbyter, was the leading spirit of two Arabian synods, and convinced there bishop Beryllus of his christological error. Even the Roman clergy, in their letter to Cyprian,⁴ speak of a common synodical consultation of the bishops with the priests, deacons, confessors, and “laicis stantibus.” But with the advance of the hierarchical spirit, this republican feature gradually vanished. After the council of Nice (325) bishops alone had seat and voice, and the priests appear hereafter merely as secretaries, or advisers, or representatives of their bishops. The bishops, moreover, did not act as representatives of their churches, nor in the name of the body of the believers, as formerly, but in their own right as successors of the apostles. They did not as yet, however, in this period, claim infallibility for their decisions, unless we choose to find a slight approach to such a claim in the formula: “Placuit nobis Sancto Spiritu suggerente,” as used, for example, by the council of Carthage, in 252.⁵ At all events, their decrees at that

¹ Comp. Acts xv. 6, 7, 12, 13, 23, where the “brethren” are mentioned expressly, besides the apostles and elders, as members of the council, even at the final decision and in the pastoral letter.

² Cyprian, Opera, p. 329, ed. Baluz. In the acts of this council, however, (p. 330–338) the bishops only appear as voters, from which Hefele (l. c. I. 17) infers that the laity and even the presbyters had no votum decisivum. But in several old councils the presbyters and deacons subscribed their names after those of the bishops; see Harduin, Coll. Conc. I. 250 and 266 sq.

³ Epp. xi., xiii., lxvi., lxxi.

⁴ Ep. xxxi.

⁵ Cyprian, Ep. liv., on the ground of the ἔδοξε τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν, visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis, Acts xv. 28. So, also, the council of Arles, A.D. 314: Placuit ergo, presente Spiritu Sancto et angelis ejus (Harduin Coll. Concil. I. 262).

time could lay no claim to universal validity. The more important acts, such as electing bishops, excommunication, decision of controversies, were communicated to other provinces by *epistolae synodicae*. In the intercourse and the translation of individual members of churches, letters of recommendation¹ from the bishop were commonly employed.

As the episcopate culminated in the primacy, so the synodal system rose into the ecumenical councils, which represented the whole church of the Roman empire. But these could not be held till persecution ceased, and the emperor became the patron of Christianity. The first was the celebrated council of Nice, in the year 325.

§ 113. *Collections of Ecclesiastical Law.*

- I. *Διατάγαι τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος*, etc., CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICAE, in *Cotelier's* ed. of the *Patres Apostolici* (I. 199 sqq.), in *Mansi* (Collect. Concil. I.), and *Harduin* (Coll. Conc. I.), newly edited by *Ueltzen*, Rost. 1853. *Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγ. Ἀποστόλων*, CANONES, qui dicuntur APOSTOLORUM, in most collections of church law, and in *Cotel.* (I. 437 sqq.), *Mansi*, and *Harduin* (tom. I.). DE LAGARDE: *Reliquiae juris eccles. antiquissimae Syr. et Gr.* Lips. 1856.
- II. KRABBE: *Ueber den Ursprung u. den Inhalt der apost. Constitutionen des Clemens Romanus.* Hamb. 1829. S. v. DREY (R. C.): *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitut. u. Kanones der Ap.* Tüb. 1832. J. W. BICKELL: *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts.* Giess. 1843 (I. 1, p. 52-255). CHASE: *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, including the Canons; Whiston's version revised from the Greek; with a prize essay (of Krabbe) upon their origin and contents.* New York, 1848. BUNSEN: *Hippolytus u. seine Zeit.* Leipz. 1852 (I. p. 418-525, and II. p. 1-126; and in the 2d Engl. ed. Lond. 1854, vols. V-VII.). HEFELE (R. C.) *Conciliengeschichte* I. p. 767 sqq.

Towards the end of our period collections of church laws and usages made their appearance. Tradition traced them to apostolic origin; but they evidently arose at various periods and in different parts of the church, and hence have been excluded from the canon as pseudo-apostolic. They are valuable chiefly as afford-

* *Epistolae formatae, γράμματα τετραμερή.*

ing a complete view of the government, the cultus, and the practical life of the church in the third and fourth centuries.

The oldest collection of this sort is the "APOSTOLICAL CHURCH ORDER,"¹ which originated, probably, in the beginning of the third century. It contains, in thirty-five articles, moral precepts of John, and ordinances of the other apostles respecting the duties of church officers and of laymen, and respecting the part of women in the functions of worship, with a closing exhortation from Peter to obey these directions. It is remarkable, that in the account of the pretended acts of the apostolic council, even Martha and Mary, besides the apostles, are introduced as speaking.

Much more famous and important are the "APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS."² The work is, in form, a fabrication, professing to be a bequest of all the apostles, handed down through the Roman bishop Clement, or dictated to him. It begins with the words: "The apostles and elders, to all who among the nations have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you, and peace," &c. It contains, in eight books, a collection of moral exhortations, church laws and usages, and liturgical formularies, which had gradually arisen in the various churches from the close of the first century, the time of the Roman Clement, downward, particularly in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, partly on the authority of apostolic practice. These were at first orally transmitted; then committed to writing in different versions, like the creeds; and finally brought, by some unknown hand, into their present form. The first six books, which have a strong Jewish-Christian tone, are the original basis, and, according to recent investigations, were composed, with the exception of some later interpolations, at the end of the third century, in Syria (according to Baur, in Rome). The seventh and eighth books, each of which, however, forms an independent piece, come from the beginning of the fourth century, at all

¹ *Ordatio ecclesiastica apostolorum*, known through Ethiopic and Arabic MSS. and recently through a Greek text discovered by Bickell.

² Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων; also Διδασκαλία, ἐκτελεῖς, εἰδική, ἐλάχις, τῶν Ἀποστόλων, Διδασκαλία καθολική.

events, from a period before the council of Nice (325). The collection of the three parts into one whole may be the work of the author of the eighth book. The design was, to set forth the ecclesiastical life for laity and clergy, and to establish the episcopal theocracy. These constitutions were more used and consulted in the East than any work of the fathers, and were taken as the rule in matters of discipline, like the holy Scriptures in matters of doctrine. Still the collection, as such, did not rise to formal legal authority, and the second Trullan council of 692 rejected it for its heretical interpolations, while the same council acknowledged the Apostolic Canons.

The "APOSTOLIC CANONS," consisting of brief church rules or prescriptions, in some copies eighty-five in number, in others fifty, and pretending to be of apostolic origin, are incorporated in the "Constitutions" as an appendix to the eighth book, but are found also by themselves, in Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic manuscripts. Their contents are borrowed partly from the Scriptures, especially the Pastoral Epistles, partly from tradition, and partly from the decrees of early councils at Antioch, Neo-Cæsarea, Nice, Laodicea, &c. (but probably not Chalcedon, 451). They are, therefore, evidently of gradual growth, and were collected either¹ after the middle of the fourth century, or² not till the latter part of the fifth, by some unknown hand, probably also in Syria. They are designed to furnish a complete system of discipline for the clergy. Of the laity they say scarcely a word. The eighty-fifth and last canon settles the canon of the Scripture, but reckons among the New Testament books two epistles of Clement and the genuine books of the pseudo-Apostolic Constitutions. The Greek church, at the Trullan council of 692, adopted the whole collection of eighty-five canons as authentic and binding, and John of Damascus even placed it on a parallel with the epistles of the apostle Paul, thus showing that he had no sense of the infinite superiority of the inspired writings. The Latin church rejected it at first, but subsequently decided

* As Bickell supposes.

² According to Dr. von Drey.

for the smaller collection of fifty canons, which Dionysius Exiguus about the year 500 translated from a Greek manuscript.

§ 114. *Church Discipline.*

- I. Several Tracts of TERTULLIAN (especially *De poenitentia*). The *Philosophoumena* of HIPPOLYTUS (l. IX.). The Epistles of CYPRIAN, and his work *De lapsis*. The *Epistolae canonicae* of DIONYSIUS of Alex., GREGORY THAUMATURGUS (about 260), and PETER of Alex. (about 306), collected in *Routh's Reliquiae sacrae*, tom. III., 2nd ed. The CONSTIT. APOST. II. 16, 21-24. The CANONS of the councils of *Elvira*, *Arelate*, *Ancyra*, *Neo-Caesarea*, and *Nice*, between 305 and 325 (in the *Collections of Councils*, and in *Routh's Reliq. sacr.* tom. IV.).
- II. MORINUS: *De disciplina in administratione sacram. poenitentiae*, XIII. primis saec. Par. 1651 (Venet. 1702). MARSHALL: *Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*. Lond. 1714 (new ed. 1844).

The ancient church was distinguished for strict discipline. Previous to Constantine the Great, this discipline rested on purely moral sanctions, and had nothing to do with civil constraints and punishments. It had in view, on the one hand, the dignity and purity of the church, on the other, the spiritual welfare of the offender; punishment being designed to be also correction. The extreme penalty was excommunication, exclusion from all the rights and privileges of the faithful. This was inflicted for heresy and schism, and all gross crimes, such as theft, murder, adultery, blasphemy, and the denial of Christ in persecution. After Tertullian, these and like offences, incompatible with the regenerate state, were classed as mortal sins,¹ in distinction from venial sins, or sins of weakness.²

Persons thus excluded passed into the class of penitents,³ and could attend only the catechumen worship. Before they could

¹ *Peccata mortalia*, or, *ad mortem*; after a rather arbitrary interpretation of 1 Jno. v. 16. Tertullian gives seven mortal sins: *Homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et moechia et fornicatio et si qua alia violatio templi Dei*. *De pudic.* c. 19. These he declares *irremissibilia*, *horum ultra exorator non erit Christus*; that is, if they be committed *after baptism*; for baptism washes away all former guilt.

² *Peccata venialia*.

³ *Poenitentes*.

be re-admitted to the fellowship of the church, they were required to pass through a process like that of the catechumens, only still more severe, and to prove the sincerity of their penitence by abstinence from all pleasures, from ornament in dress, and from nuptial intercourse, by confession, frequent prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and other good works. Under pain of a troubled conscience and of separation from the only saving church, they readily submitted to the severest penances. The church teachers did not neglect, indeed, to inculcate the penitent spirit and the contrition of the heart as the main thing. Yet many of them laid too great stress on certain outward exercises. Tertullian conceived the entire church penance as a satisfaction¹ paid to God. This view could easily obscure to a dangerous degree the all-sufficient merit of Christ, and lead to that self-righteousness against which the Reformation raised so loud a voice.

The time and the particular form of the penances, in the second century, was left as yet to the discretion of the several ministers and churches. Not till the end of the third century was a rigorous and fixed system of penitential discipline established, and then this could hardly maintain itself a century. Though originating in deep moral earnestness, and designed only for good, it was not fitted to promote the genuine spirit of repentance. Too much formality and outward legal constraint always deadens the spirit, instead of supporting and regulating it. This disciplinary formalism first appears, as already familiar, in the council of Ancyra, in the year 314. The penitents were distributed into four classes:—

(1) The weepers,² who prostrated themselves at the church doors in mourning garments and implored restoration from the clergy and the people.

(2) The hearers,³ who, like the first class of catechumens, of the same name, were allowed to hear the Scripture lessons and the sermon.

¹ Satisfactio.

² Προσκλαίοντες, flentes; also called χερμάζοντες, hiemantes.

³ Ἀκροώμενοι, audientes, or auditores.

(3) The kneelers,¹ who attended the public prayers, but only in the kneeling posture.

(4) The standers,² who could take part in the whole worship standing, but were still excluded from the communion.

These classes answer to the four stages of penance,³ the last three running parallel with the three grades of the catechuminate. The course of penance was usually three or four years long, but, like the catechetical preparation, could be shortened according to circumstances, or extended to the day of death. In the East there were special penitential presbyters,⁴ intrusted with the oversight of the penitential discipline.

After the fulfilment of this probation came the act of reconciliation.⁵ The penitent made a public confession of sin, received absolution by the laying on of hands of the ministers, and precatory or optative benediction,⁶ was again greeted by the congregation with the brotherly kiss, and admitted to the celebration of the communion. For the ministry alone he was for ever disqualified. Cyprian and Firmilian, however, guard against the view, that the priestly absolution of hypocritical penitents is unconditional and infallible, and can forestall the judgment of God.⁷

In reference to the propriety of any restoration in certain cases, there was an important difference of sentiment, which gave rise to several schisms. All agreed that the church punishment could not forestall the judgment of God at the last day, but was merely

¹ Γονυκλίνοντες, genuflectentes; also ὑποκλίπτοντες, substrati.

² Συνιστάμενοι, consistentes.

³ Πρόσκλησις, fletus; ἀκρόασις, auditus; ὑπόπτωσις, prostratio, humiliatio; σύστασις, consistentia.

⁴ Ποσεβύτεροι ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας, presb. poenitentiarum.

⁵ Reconciliatio.

⁶ The declarative, and especially the direct indicative or judicial form of absolution seems to be of later origin.

⁷ Cyp. Epist. LV., c. 15: Neque enim prejudicamus Domino iudicaturus, quomodo si poenitentiam plenam et justam peccatoris invenerit tunc ratum faciat, quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum. Si vero nos aliquis penitentiae simulatione deluserit, Deus, qui non deridetur, et qui cor hominis intuetur, de his, quae nos minus perspeximus, iudicet et suorum sententiam Dominus emendet. Comp. the similar passages in Epist. LXXV. 4, and De Lapsis, c. 17. But if the church can err in imparting absolution to the unworthy, as Cyprian concedes, she can err also in withholding absolution and in passing sentence of excommunication.

temporal, and looked to the repentance and conversion of the subject. But it was a question whether the church should restore even the grossest offender on his confession of sorrow, or should, under certain circumstances, leave him to the judgment of God. The strict, puritanic party, to which the Montanists, the Novatians, and the Donatists belonged, and, for a time, the whole African and Spanish Church, took ground against the restoration of those who had forfeited the grace of baptism by a mortal sin, especially by denial of Christ; since, otherwise, the church would lose her characteristic holiness, and encourage loose morality. The moderate party, which prevailed in the East, in Egypt, and especially in Rome, and was so far the catholic party, held the principle that the church should refuse absolution and communion, at least on the death-bed, to no penitent sinner. Paul himself restored the Corinthian offender.¹

The point here in question was of great practical moment in the times of persecution, when hundreds and thousands renounced their faith through weakness, but as soon as the danger was passed, pleaded for readmission into the church, and were very often supported in their plea by the potent intercessions of the martyrs and confessors, and their *libelli pacis*. The principle was: necessity knows no law. A mitigation of the penitential discipline seemed in such cases justified by every consideration of charity and policy. So great was the number of lapsi in the Decian persecution, that even Cyprian found himself compelled to relinquish his former rigoristic views.

The strict party were zealous for the holiness of God; the moderate, for his grace. The former would not go beyond the revealed forgiveness of sins by baptism, and were content with urging the lapsed to repentance, without offering them hope of absolution in this life. The latter refused to limit the mercy of God and expose the sinner to despair. The former were carried away with an ideal of the church which cannot be realized till the second coming of Christ; and while impelled to a fanatical

¹ 1 Cor. v. 1 sqq. Comp. 2 Cor. ii. 5 sqq.

separatism, they proved, in their own sects, the impossibility of an absolutely pure communion on earth. The others not rarely ran to the opposite extreme of a dangerous looseness, were quite too lenient, even towards mortal sins, and sapped the earnestness of the Christian morality.

It is remarkable that the lax penitential discipline had its chief support from the end of the second century, in the Roman church. Tertullian assails that church for this with bitter mockery. Hippolytus, soon after him, does the same; though no Montanist, he was zealous for strict discipline. According to his statement,¹ evidently made from fact, the pope Callistus, whom a later age stamped a saint because it knew little of him, admitted bigami and trigami to ordination, maintained that a bishop could not be deposed, even though he had committed a mortal sin, and appealed for his view to Rom. xiv. 4, to the parable of the tares and the wheat, Matt. xiii. 30, and, above all, to the ark of Noah, which was a symbol of the church, and which contained both clean and unclean animals, even dogs and wolves. In short, he considered no sin too great to be loosed by the power of the keys in the church. And this continued to be the view of his successors. But here we perceive, also, how the looser practice in regard to penance was connected with the interest of the hierarchy. It favored the power of the priesthood, which claimed for itself the right of absolution; it was at the same time matter of worldly policy; it promoted the external spread of the church, though at the expense of the moral integrity of her membership, and facilitated both her subsequent union with the state and her hopeless confusion with the world. No wonder the church of Rome, in this point, as in others, triumphed at last over all opposition.

§ 115. *Church Schisms.*

On the Schism of Felicissimus: CYPR.: Epist. 38-40, 42, 55.

On the Novatian Schism: HIPPOL.: Philosoph. l. IX. CYPR.: Epist. 41-52; and the Epistles of CORNELIUS of Rome, and DIONYS. of Alex., in Euseb. H. E., VI. 43-45, VII. 8.

¹ Philosoph. l. IX., p. 290 (ed. Oxon.).

On the Meletian Schism: Documents in Latin translation in *Maffei: Osservazioni Letterarie*. Verona, 1738, tom. III. p. 11 seq., and the Greek fragments from the *Liber de poenitentia* of Peter of Alexandria in *Routh: Reliquiae sacr.* vol. II. p. 21-51. EPIPHAN.: *Haer.* 68 (favorable to Meletius), ATHANAS.: *Apol. contra Arianos*, § 59, and after him SOCR., SOZOM., and THEOD. (very unfavorable to Meletius).

Out of this controversy on the restoration of the lapsed, proceeded three schisms in the latter half of the third century; one in North Africa, one in Rome, and one in Egypt. Montanism, too, was in a measure connected with the question of penitential discipline, but extended, also, to several other points of Christian life.¹

1. The schism of FELICISSIMUS, at Carthage, about the year 250, originated in the personal dissatisfaction of five presbyters with the hasty and irregular election of Cyprian to the bishopric, by the voice of the congregation, very soon after his baptism, A.D. 248. At the head of this opposition party stood the presbyter Novatus, an unprincipled ecclesiastical demagogue, of restless, insubordinate spirit and notorious character,² and the deacon Felicissimus, whom Novatus ordained, without the permission or knowledge of Cyprian, therefore illegally, whether with his own hands or through those of foreign bishops. The controversy cannot, however, from this circumstance, be construed, as it is by Neander and others, into a presbyterial reaction against episcopal autocracy. For the opposition themselves afterwards chose a bishop in the person of Fortunatus. The Novatians and the Meletians likewise had the episcopal form of organization, though doubtless with many irregularities in the ordination.

After the outbreak of the Decian persecution this personal rivalry received fresh nourishment and new importance from the question of discipline. Cyprian originally held Tertullian's

¹ 1 Comp. § 67.

² Cyprian charges him with terrible cruelties, such as robbing widows and orphans, gross abuse of his father, and of his wife even during her pregnancy; and says, that he was about to be arraigned for this and similar misconduct, when the Decian persecution broke out. Ep. 49.

principles, and utterly opposed the restoration of the lapsed, till further examination changed his views. Yet, so great was the multitude of the fallen, that he allowed an exception in *periculo mortis*. His opponents still saw even in this position an unchristian severity, least of all becoming him, who, as they misrepresented him, fled from his post for fear of death. They gained the powerful voice of the confessors, who in the face of their own martyrdom freely gave their peace-bills to the lapsed. A regular trade was carried on in these indulgences. An arrogant confessor, Lucian, wrote to Cyprian in the name of the rest, that he granted restoration to all apostles, and begged him to make this known to the other bishops. We can easily understand how this lenity from those who stood in the fire, might take more with the people, than the strictness of the bishop, who had secured himself. The church of Novatus and Felicissimus was a resort of all the careless lapsi. Felicissimus set himself also against a visitation of churches and a collection for the poor, which Cyprian ordered during his exile. When the bishop returned, after Easter, 251, he held a council at Carthage, which, though it condemned the party of Felicissimus, took a middle course on the point in dispute. It sought to preserve the integrity of discipline, yet at the same time to secure the fallen against despair. It therefore decided for the restoration of those who proved themselves truly penitent, but against restoring the careless, who asked the communion merely from fear of death. Cyprian afterwards, when the persecution was renewed under Gallus, abolished even this limitation. He was thus, of course, not entirely consistent, but gradually accommodated his principles to circumstances and to the practice of the Roman church.¹ His antagonists elected their bishop, indeed, but were shortly compelled to yield to the united force of the African and Roman churches, especially as they had no moral earnestness at the bottom of their cause.

¹ In Ep. 52, *Ad Antonianum*, he tried to justify himself in regard to this change in his views.

His conflict with this schismatical movement strengthened Cyprian's episcopal authority, and led him in his doctrine of the unity of the church to the principle of absolute exclusiveness.¹

2. The NOVATIAN schism in Rome was prepared by the controversy already alluded to between Hippolytus and Callistus. It broke out soon after the African schism, and, like it, in consequence of an election of bishop. But in this case the opposition advocated the strict discipline against the lenient practice of the dominant church. The Novatianists considered themselves the only pure communion,² and unchurched all churches which defiled themselves by re-admitting lapsi, or any other gross offenders. They went much farther than Cyprian, even as far as the later Donatists. They admitted the possibility of mercy for a mortal sinner, but denied the power and the right of the church to decide upon it and to prevent by absolution the judgment of God upon such offenders. They also, like Cyprian, rejected heretical baptism, and baptized all who came over to them from other communions not just so rigid as themselves.

At the head of this party stood the Roman presbyter Novatian,³ an earnest, learned, but gloomy man, who had come to faith through severe demoniacal disease and inward struggles. He fell out with Cornelius, who, after the Decian persecution in 251, was nominated bishop of Rome, and at once, to the grief of many, showed great indulgence towards the lapsi. Among his adherents the above named Novatus of Carthage was particularly busy, either from a mere spirit of opposition to existing authority, or from having changed his former lax principles on his removal to Rome. Novatian, against his will, was chosen bishop by the opposition. Cornelius excommunicated him. Both parties courted the recognition of the churches abroad. Fabian, bishop of Antioch, sympathized with the rigorists. Dionysius of Alexandria, on the contrary, accused them of blaspheming

¹ Comp. § 111.

² Καθαροί.

³ Eusebius and the Greeks call him Νουάτιος, and confound him with Novatus of Carthage.

the most gracious Lord Jesus Christ, by calling him unmerciful. And especially Cyprian, from his zeal for ecclesiastical unity and his aversion to Novatus, took sides with Cornelius, whom he regarded the legitimate bishop of Rome.

In spite of this strong opposition the Novatian sect, by virtue of its moral earnestness, propagated itself in various provinces of the West and the East down to the fifth century. In Phrygia it combined with the remnants of the Montanists. The council of Nice recognised its ordination, and endeavored, without success, to reconcile it with the Catholic church. Constantine, too, at first dealt mildly with it, but afterwards prohibited its public worship.

3. The MELETIAN schism in Egypt arose in the Diocletian persecution, about 305, and lasted more than a century, but, owing to the contradictory character of our accounts, it is not so well understood. It was occasioned by Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, in Thebais, who, according to one statement, from zeal for strict discipline, according to another, from sheer arrogance, rebelled against his metropolitan, Peter of Alexandria (martyred in 311), and during his absence encroached upon his diocese with ordinations, excommunications, and the like. Peter warned his people against him, and, on returning from his flight, deposed him as a disturber of the peace of the church. But the controversy continued, and spread over all Egypt. The council of Nice endeavored, by recognising the ordination of the twenty-nine Meletian bishops, and by other compromise measures, to heal the division; but to no purpose. The Meletians afterwards made common cause with the Arians.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THEIR WRITINGS.

JEROME (†419): *De viris illustribus* (comprising in 135 numbers the bibli.al and ecclesiastical authors, down to A.D. 393). **TILLEMONT** (R.C.): *Mémoires*, etc., Par. 1693 sqq., 16 vols. (the first six centuries). **E. DUPIN** (R. C.): *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques, contenant l'histoire de leur vie*, etc. Par. 1693–1715, 20 vols. **REMI CELLIER** (R. C.): *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*. Par. 1729–63, 23 vols. **G. CAVE**: *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Historia literaria a Christo nato usque ad saecul. XIV.* Lond. 1688. 2 vols. (Ox. 1740 and often). **FABRICIUS**: *Bibliotheca Graeca*. Hamb. 1708–28, 14 vols. (ed. quarta by Harless, Hamb. 1790–1812, in 12 vols., embracing all the Greek writers down to the dissolution of the Eastern empire). **FABRICIUS**: *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica*. Hamb. 1718. **OUDIN**: *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis illorumque scriptis*. Lips. 1822, 3 vols. (reaching to the 15th century.) **MÖHLER** (R. C.): *Patrologie oder christliche Literaturgeschichte*. Edited by *Reithmayer*. Regensb. 1840, Vol. I. (covering only the first three centuries.) **FR. BÖHRINGER**: *Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen, oder die K. G. in Biographieen*. Zür. 1842 sqq. Vol. I. in 4 parts (to Gregory the Great).—Comp. also **DALLAEUS** (Daillé): *De usu Patrum in decidendis controversiis*. Genev. 1656 (and often), and **J. J. BLUNT** (Anglican): *The Right Use of the Early Fathers*. Lond. 1857 (largely polemical against the depreciation of the fathers, by Daillé, Barbeyrat, and Gibbon).

§ 116. *The Patristic Literature in General.*

As Christianity is primarily a religion of divine facts, a new moral creation, the literary and scientific element in its history held, at first, a secondary and subordinate place. Of the apostles, Paul alone received a learned education, and even he made his rabbinical culture and great natural talents subservient to the higher knowledge imparted to him by revelation of the Holy Ghost. But for the very reason that it is a new life, Christianity must produce also a new science and literature; partly from the

inherent impulse of faith towards deeper and clearer knowledge of its object for its own satisfaction ; partly from the demands of self-preservation against assaults from without ; partly from the practical want of instruction and direction for the people. The church also gradually appropriated the classical culture, and made it tributary to her theology. Throughout the middle ages she was almost the sole vehicle and guardian of science and art, and she is the mother of the best elements of the modern European and American civilization. We have already treated of the mighty intellectual labor of our period on the field of apologetic, polemic, and dogmatic theology. In this section we have to do with patrology, or the biographical and bibliographical matter of the ancient theology and literature.

The ecclesiastical literature of the first six centuries was cast almost entirely in the mould of the Graeco-Roman culture. The earliest church fathers, even Clement of Rome, Hermas, and Hippolytus, who lived and labored in and about Rome, used the Greek language, after the example of the apostles, with such modifications as the Christian ideas required. Not till the end of the second century, and then not in Italy, but in North Africa, did the Latin language also become, through Tertullian, a medium of Christian science and literature. The Latin church, however, continued for a long time dependent on the learning of the Greek. The Greek church was more excitable, speculative, and dialectic ; the Latin more steady, practical, and devoted to outward organization ; though we have on both sides striking exceptions to this rule, in the Greek Chrysostom, who was the greatest practical divine, and the Latin Augustine, who was the profoundest speculative theologian among the fathers.

The patristic literature in general falls considerably below the classical in elegance of form, but far surpasses it in the sterling quality of its matter. It wears the servant form of its master, during the days of his flesh, not the splendid, princely garb of this world. Confidence in the power of the Christian truth made men less careful of the form in which they presented it. Besides, many of the oldest Christian writers lacked early

education, and had a certain aversion to art, from its manifold perversion in those days to the service of idolatry and immorality. But some of them, even in the second and third centuries, particularly Clement and Origen, stood at the head of their age in learning and philosophical culture; and in the fourth and fifth centuries, the literary productions of an Athanasius, a Gregory, a Chrysostom, an Augustine, and a Jerome, excelled the contemporaneous heathen literature in every respect. Many fathers, like the two Clements, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and among the later ones, even Augustine, embraced Christianity after attaining adult years; and it is interesting to notice with what enthusiasm, energy, and thankfulness they lay hold upon it.

The term "church-father" originated in the primitive custom of transferring the idea of father to spiritual relationships, especially to those of teacher, priest, and bishop. In the case before us the idea necessarily includes that of antiquity, involving a certain degree of general authority for all subsequent periods and single branches of the church. Hence this title of honor is justly limited to the more distinguished teachers of the first five or six centuries, excepting, of course, the apostles, who stand far above them all as the inspired organs of the Holy Ghost. It applies, therefore, to the period of the ecumenical formation of doctrines, before the separation of Eastern and Western Christendom. When the Roman church extends the line of the Patres, among whom she further distinguishes a small number of *Doctores ecclesiae*, emphatically so-called, down late into the middle ages, and reckons in it Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and even the divines of the Council of Trent, she rests only on her claim to exclusive catholicity, which is recognised neither by the Greek nor the Evangelical church.

Besides antiquity, or direct connexion with the formative age of the whole church, learning, holiness, orthodoxy, and the approbation of the church, or general recognition, are the qualifications for a church father. These qualifications, however, are only relative. At least we cannot apply the scale of fully

developed orthodoxy, whether Greek, Roman, or Evangelical, to the ante-Nicene fathers. Their dogmatic conceptions were often very indefinite and uncertain. In fact the Roman church excludes a Tertullian for his Montanism, an Origen for his Platonic and idealistic views, a Eusebius for his semi-Arianism, from the list of proper Patres, and designates them merely *scriptores ecclesiastici*. In strictness, not a single one of the ante-Nicene fathers fairly agrees with the Roman standard of doctrine in all points. Even Irenaeus and Cyprian differed from the Roman bishop; the former in reference to Chiliasm and Montanism, the latter on the validity of heretical baptism. We must resort here to a liberal conception of orthodoxy, and duly consider the necessary stages of progress in the development of Christian doctrine in the church.

In general the excellences of the church fathers are very various. Polycarp is distinguished, not for genius or learning, but for patriarchal simplicity and dignity; Clement of Rome, for the gift of administration; Ignatius, for impetuous enthusiasm for episcopacy, unity, and Christian martyrdom; Justin, for apologetic zeal and extensive reading; Irenaeus, for sound doctrine and moderation; Clement of Alexandria, for stimulating fertility of thought; Origen, for brilliant learning and bold investigation; Tertullian, for freshness and vigor of intellect, and sturdiness of character; Cyprian, for energetic churchliness; Eusebius, for industry in compilation; Lactantius, for elegance of style. Each had also his weakness. Not one compares in depth and spiritual fulness with a St. Paul or St. John; and the whole patristic literature, with all its incalculable value, must ever remain very far below the New Testament.

The church fathers before the council of Nice may be divided into five or six classes:

- (1.) The apostolic fathers, or personal disciples of the apostles. Of these, Polycarp, Clement, and Ignatius are the most eminent.
- (2.) The apologists for Christianity against Judaism and heathenism; Justin Martyr and his successors to the end of the second century.
- (3.) The controversialists against heresies within the church,

Irenaeus and Hippolytus, at the close of the second century and beginning of the third.

(4.) The Alexandrian school of philosophical theology; Clement and Origen, in the first half of the third century.

(5.) The contemporary but more practical North African school of Tertullian and Cyprian.

Then there were also the germs of the Antiochan school, and some less prominent writers, who can be assigned to no particular class.

Together with the genuine writings of the church fathers there appeared in the first centuries, in behalf both of heresy and of orthodoxy, a multitude of apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses, under the names of apostles and of later celebrities; also Jewish and heathen prophecies of Christianity, such as the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Books of Hydaspes, of Hermas Trismegistos, and of the Sibylls. The frequent use made of such fabrications of an idle imagination even by eminent church teachers, particularly by the apologists, evinces not only great credulity and total want of literary criticism, but also a very imperfect development of the sense of truth, which had not yet learned utterly to discard the *pia fraus* as falsehood.

§ 117. *The Apostolic Fathers.*

- I. **PATRUM APOSTOLICORUM Opera**; editions by B. COTELIERUS (Cotelier, R. C.), Par. 1672. 2 vols., including the spurious works; J. CLERICUS (Le Clerc), Amst. 1698 and 1724. 2 vols.; R. RUSSEL, Lond. 1746. 2 vols. (the genuine works); GUIL. JACOBSON, Oxon. 1838, ed. iii. 1847. 2 vols. (very elegant and accurate, but containing only Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the martyria of Ign. and Polyc.); C. J. HEFELE (R. C.), Tub. 1839 ed. iv. 1855. 1 vol.; A. R. M. DRESSSEL, Lips. 1857. 1 vol. (including the *Greek* Pastor Hermae, and a treatise on it by Tischendorf). E. V. MURALT: *Codex N. T. deuterocanonicus*. Turic. 1847.
- II. The Prolegomena to the editions just named, particularly those of Cotelier—Clericus, Hefele, and Dressel. A. SCHWEGLER: *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*. Tüb. 1846. 2 vols. (hypercritical, and full of untenable hypotheses) A. HILGENFELD: *Die apostolischen Väter*. Halle, 1853. J. H. B. LÜBKERT: *Die Theologie der apostolischen Väter*, in the "*Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.*" Leipz. 1854. IECHLER: *Das apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter*. Stuttgart, 1857. p. 476-495.

The apostolic fathers were the first church teachers after the apostles, had enjoyed personal intercourse with them, and thus form the connecting link between them and the apologists of the second century. This class consists of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hermas, and, taken in a broad sense, Papias, and the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus.

Of the outward life of these men, their extraction, education, and occupation before conversion, hardly anything is known. The distressed condition of that age was very unfavorable to authorship; and more than this, the spirit of the primitive church regarded the new life in Christ as the only true life, the only one worthy of being recorded. But the pious story of the martyrdom of several of these fathers, as their entrance into perfect life, has been copiously written.

The extant works of the apostolic fathers are of small compass, and are in some cases of doubtful genuineness; but they belong at all events to that obscure and mysterious transition period between the end of the first century and the middle of the second. They all originated, not in scientific study, but in practical religious feeling, and contain not analyses of doctrine so much as simple direct assertions of faith and exhortations to holy life; all, excepting the Shepherd of Hermas, in the form of epistles after the model of Paul's. Yet they show the germs of the apologetic, polemic, dogmatic, and ethic theology, as well as the outlines of the organization and the cultus of the old Catholic church. Critical research has to assign to them their due place in the external and internal development of the church; in doing this it needs very great caution to avoid arbitrary construction.

If we compare these documents with the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament, it is evident at once that they fall far below in creative force, depth, and fulness of spirit, and afford in this a strong indirect proof of the inspiration of the apostles. Yet they still shine with the evening red of the apostolic day, and breathe an enthusiasm of simple faith and fervent love and fidelity to the Lord, which proved its power in suffering and

martyrdom. They move in the element of living tradition, and make reference oftener to the oral preaching of the apostles than to their writings; for these were not yet so generally circulated; but they bear a testimony none the less valuable to the genuineness of the apostolic writings, by numerous citations and by the coincidence of their reminiscences with the facts of the gospel history and the fundamental doctrines of the New Testament. If the epistles of Barnabas, Clement, and Polycarp, and the Shepherd of Hermas, were sometimes read in public worship, or were even incorporated in some manuscripts of the Bible, this only shows that the sense of the church, as to the extent of the canon, had not yet become everywhere clear. Their authority at any rate was always but sectional and subordinate to that of the Gospels and the apostolic Epistles. It was a sound instinct of the church, that the writings of the disciples of the apostles, excepting those of Mark and Luke, who were peculiarly associated with Peter and Paul, were kept out of the codex of the New Testament. For by the wise ordering of the Ruler of history, there is an impassable gulf between the inspiration of the apostles and the illumination of the succeeding age, between the standard authority of holy Scripture and the derived validity of the teaching of the church.

§ 118. *Clement of Rome.*

LIPSIVS: De Clementis Rom. Epist. ad Corinth. priore. Lips. 1855. Comp. the literature at § 69.

Among the apostolic fathers Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch clearly take the front rank, from their position as bishops of the largest apostolic churches in capital cities of the Roman empire, and from the importance of their writings.

Clement, a name of great celebrity in antiquity, was a disciple of Paul and Peter; perhaps the same who is mentioned in Phil. iv. 3, as a zealous fellow-laborer in the gospel. At the close of the first century, from the twelfth year of Domitian to the third of Trajan (A.D. 92-101 or 102), he stood, according to Eusebius

at the head of the Roman church. Yet tradition is divided against itself as to the time of his administration; now making him the first successor of Peter, now, with more probability, the third.¹ Further than this we know nothing with certainty respecting him, but what can be gathered from his Epistle to the Corinthians.

Later legends have decked out his life in romance, both in the interest of the catholic church and in that of heresy. They picture him as a noble and highly educated Roman, who, dissatisfied with the wisdom and art of heathenism, journeyed to Palestine, became acquainted there with the apostle Peter, and was converted by him; accompanied him on his missionary tours; composed many books in his name; was appointed by him his successor as bishop of Rome, with a sort of supervision over the whole church; and at last, being banished under Trajan to the Taurian Chersonesus, died the glorious death of a martyr in the waves of the sea. But the oldest witnesses, down to Eusebius and Jerome, know nothing of his martyrdom. The *Acta Martirii Clementis* (by Simon Metaphrastes) make their appearance first in the ninth century. They are purely fictitious, and ascribe incredible miracles to their hero.

From this father we have a Greek epistle to the Corinthians in fifty-nine chapters, which is often cited by the church fathers, then disappeared, but was found again complete, together with the fragments of the second epistle, in the Alexandrian codex of the Bible (now in the British Museum), and was first published from this by Patricius Junius at Oxford in 1633.² It enjoyed the highest esteem in ancient times, and continued in public use in the Corinthian church so late as the year 180. And it is in fact one of the most beautiful and valuable remains of the post-apostolic literature. It was occasioned by party differences and quarrels in the church of Corinth, where some restless spirits had deposed the presbyter-bishops. It consists of earnest fraternal exhortations to harmony and love, humility and holiness, after

¹ Comp. § 110, p. 431.

² The best edition from the same MS. is that of Prof. Jacobson, Oxf. 1838, 3rd ed 1847.

the pattern of Christ and his apostles, especially of Paul and Peter. It evinces the calm dignity and the practical executive wisdom of the Roman church in her original apostolic simplicity, without the slightest infusion of hierarchical arrogance. It is altogether worthy of a disciple of the apostles.

In regard to its theology, this epistle belongs plainly to the school of Paul, and strongly resembles the Epistle to the Hebrews, while at the same time it betrays the influence of Peter also; both these apostles having, in fact, personally labored in the church of Rome, in whose name the letter is written, and having left the stamp of their spirit upon it. Clement is really the only one of the apostolic fathers, except perhaps Polycarp,¹ who clearly asserts the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. "All (the saints of the Old Testament)," says he,² "became great and glorious, not through themselves, nor by their works, nor by their righteousness, but by the will of God. Thus we also, who are called by the will of God in Christ Jesus, are righteous not of ourselves, neither through our wisdom, nor through our understanding, nor through our piety, nor through our works, which we have wrought in purity of heart, but by faith, by which the almighty God justified all these from the beginning; to whom be glory to all eternity." And then Clement, precisely like Paul in Rom. vi., derives sanctification from justification, and continues: "What, then, should we do, beloved brethren? Should we be slothful in good works and neglect love? By no means! But with zeal and courage we will hasten to fulfil every good work. For the Creator and Lord of all things himself rejoices in his works." Among the good works he especially extols love, and describes it in a strain which reminds one of Paul's 13th chapter of 1 Corinthians: "He who has love in Christ, obeys the commands of Christ. Who can declare the bond of the love of God, and tell the greatness of its beauty? The height to which it leads is unspeakable. Love unites us with God; covers a multitude of sins; beareth all things, endureth all things. There is nothing mean in love, nothing

¹ Ad Philipp. c. 1.

² Ch. 32

haughty. It knows no division; it is not refractory; it does everything in harmony. In love have all the elect of God become perfect. Without love nothing is pleasing to God. In love has the Lord received us; for the love which he cherished towards us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave his blood for us according to the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our soul.”¹ Hence all his zeal for the unity of the church. “Wherefore are dispute, anger, discord, division, and war among you? Or have we not one God, and one Christ and one Spirit, who is poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ? Wherefore do we tear and sunder the members of Christ, and bring the body into tumult against itself, and go so far in delusion, that we forget that we are members one of another?”² Very beautifully also he draws from the harmony of the universe an incitement to concord, and incidentally expresses here the remarkable sentiment, perhaps suggested by the old legends of the Atlantis, the orbis alter, the ultima Thule, &c., that there are other worlds beyond the impenetrable ocean, which are ruled by the same laws of the Lord.³

But notwithstanding its prevailing Pauline character, this epistle lowers somewhat the free evangelical tone of the Gentile apostle’s theology, softens its anti-Judaistic sternness, and blends it with the Jewish-Christian counterpart; showing that the conflict between the Pauline and Petrine views was substantially settled at the end of the first century in the Roman church, and also in that of Corinth.

Clement knows nothing of an episcopate above the presbyterate; and his epistle itself is written, not in his own name, but in that of the church at Rome. But on the other hand, he presents the Levitical priesthood as a type of the Christian teaching office, and insists with the greatest decision on outward unity, fixed order, and obedience to church rulers; thus revealing the easy and as yet innocent beginnings of the Roman system. The

¹ Ch. 49.² Ch. 46. Comp. Eph. iv. 3 sqq.³ Ch. 20: Ὁκλίανος ἀνθρώποις ἀπέραντος καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτὸν κόσμοι ταῖς αὐταῖς ταῖς γαῖαι τοῦ ἱεσπότου διευθύνονται.

interval between Clement and Paul, and the transition from the apostolic to the apocryphal, from faith to superstition, appears in the difference between Paul's treatment of scepticism in regard to the resurrection,¹ and his disciple's treatment of the same subject.² Clement points not only to the types in nature, the changes of the seasons and of day and night, but also in full earnest to the heathen myth of the miraculous bird, the phenix in Arabia, which regenerates itself every five hundred years. When the phenix—so runs the fable—approaches death, it makes itself a nest of frankincense and other spices; from its decaying flesh a winged worm arises, which, when it becomes strong, carries the reproductive nest from Arabia to Heliopolis in Egypt, and there lays it, with the bones of its predecessors, upon the altar of the sun. And this takes place, according to the reckoning of the priests, every five hundred years. After Clement other fathers also used the phenix as a symbol of the resurrection.

As to the time of its composition, this epistle falls certainly after the death of Peter and Paul, for it celebrates their martyrdom; and most probably after the death of John, possibly during his exile; for one would suppose, that if this apostle had been living, the Corinthian Christians would have applied to him for counsel, rather than to a disciple of the apostles in distant Rome. The persecution alluded to in the beginning of the epistle would then be the Domitian, and not the Neronian. Clement's calling the church at Corinth at that time firmly established and ancient,³ agrees well with this date; as also the fact, that, according to Eusebius, he did not take the bishop's chair in Rome till 92 or 93.

The name of Clement has been forged upon several later writings, both orthodox and heretical, to give them the more currency by the weight of his name and position. These pseudo-Clementine works are:—

1. A second epistle to the Corinthians, likewise in the Codex Alexandrinus, but now extant only in fragments. Its great

¹ 1 Cor. xv.

² Ad Corinth. c. 24 sqq.

³ *Βεβαιωτάτην καὶ ἀρχαίαν*, c. 47.

inferiority to the first, both in matter and in style, stamps it at once as the work of another and later author; and it is, in fact, mentioned first by Eusebius, and then with the remark, that the ancients made no use of it.¹ It is probably a fragment of a homily falsely ascribed to Clement, and is occupied with general exhortations to active Christianity and to fidelity in persecution, meantime contending with the Gnostic denial of the resurrection.

2. Two encyclical letters to Virgins, first discovered by Wetstein in 1752, in a Syriac version. They commend the unmarried life, and contain exhortations and rules of discipline for ascetics of both sexes.

3. The Apostolical Constitutions and Canons.² The so-called Liturgia S. Clementis is a part of the eighth book of the Constitutions.

4. The Pseudo-Clementina, or twenty Ebionistic homilies and their catholic reproduction, the Recognitions.³

5. Five decretal letters, which pseudo-Isidore has placed at the head of his collection. Two of them are addressed to James, and are older than the pseudo-Isidore; the three others were fabricated by him.

§ 119. *Ignatius of Antioch.*

1. Besides the works cited at § 117, see W. CURETON: *The Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of S. Ignatius to S. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans.* With Engl. transl. and notes. Lond. and Berl. 1845. C. C. J. BUNSEN: *Die 3 ächten u. die 4 unächten Briefe des Ignatius von Ant. Hergestellter u. vergleichender Text mit Anmerk.* Hamb. 1847. W. CURETON: *Corpus Ignatianum: a complete collection of the Ignatian Epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious; together with numerous extracts from them as quoted by eccles. writers down to the tenth century; in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, an Engl. transl. of the Syriac text, copious notes, and introd.* Lond. and Berl. 1849. J. H. PETERMANN: *S. Ignatii quae feruntur Epistolae, una cum ejusdem martyrio,*

¹ H. E. III. 38. Irenaeus, Dionysius of Corinth, Clement of Alex., and Origen, know only of one epistle of Clement, the first. Dionysius of Corinth (ap. Euseb. H. E. IV. 23) calls, indeed, the epistle of Clement *πρωτέρα*, but with reference, not to a second epistle of Clement, but to a later epistle of Bishop Soter of Rome to the Corinthians.

² Comp. § 113.

³ Comp. § 69.

collatis edd. Graecis, versionibusque Syriaca, Armeniaca, Latinis. Lips 1849.

- II. J. PEARSON: *Vindiciae Ignatianae*. Cambr. 1672. (Also in Cleric. ed. of the *Patres Apost.* II. 250–440). Republished with annotations by *E. Churton*, Oxon. 1852, 2 vols. ROTHE: *Anfänge der christl. Kirche*. Wittenb. 1837. I. p. 715 sqq. BUNSEN: *Ignatius von Ant. u. seine Zeit*. 7 Sendschreiben an Dr. Neander. Hamb. 1847. BAUR: *Die Ignatianischen Briefe u. ihr neuester Kritiker*. Tüb. 1848 (against Bunsen). DENZINGER (R. C.): *Ueber die Aechtheit des bisherigen Textes der Ignatian. Briefe*. Würzb. 1849. G. UHLHORN: *Das Verhältniss der syrischen Recension der Ignatian. Br. zu der kürzeren griechischen*. Leipz. 1851 (in the "*Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*"); and his article "Ignatius" in *Herzog's Theol. Encykl.*, vol. vi. (1856) p. 623 sqq. THIERSCH: *Kirche im apost. Zeitalter*. Frankf. u. Erl. 1852. p. 320 sqq. LIPSIIUS: *Ueber die Aechtheit der syr. Recens. der Ignat. Br.* Leipz. 1856 (in *Niedner's "Zeitschr. für hist. Theol."*).—The statements of the fathers respecting Ignatius are collected by Petermann, l. c. p. 554 sqq.; also by Cureton and Bunsen, l. c.

Ignatius, surnamed Theophorus,¹ stood at the head of the church of Antioch at the close of the first century and the beginning of the second; and was thus contemporaneous with Clement of Rome and Simeon of Jerusalem. The church of Antioch was the mother church of Gentile Christianity; and the city was the second city of the Roman empire. Great numbers of Christians and a host of heretical tendencies were collected there, and pushed the development of doctrine and organization with great rapidity. As in the case of Rome, tradition differs concerning the first episcopal succession of Antioch, making Ignatius either the second or the first bishop of this church after Peter, and calling him now a disciple of Peter, now of Paul, now of John. The Apostolic Constitutions intimate that Evodius and Ignatius presided contemporaneously over that church, the first being ordained by Peter, the second by Paul.² Baronius and others suppose the one to have been the bishop of the Jewish, the other of the Gentile converts. Thiersch endeavors to reconcile the conflicting statements by the hypothesis, that Peter appointed Evodius

¹ Θεοφόρος, "bearer of God," as he styles himself in his epistles.

² Ap. Const. VII. 46: 'Αντιωχείας Εὐδίους πρὶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πιερῶν, Ἰγνατίου δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου κειμένου προτάμνηται.

resbyter, Paul Ignatius, and John subsequently ordained Ignatius bishop. According to later story, Ignatius was the first patron of sacred music, and introduced the antiphony in Antioch. But his peculiar glory, in the eyes of the ancient church, was his martyrdom, the fact of which is unquestionable, though the minute account of it, the *Martyrium S. Ignatii*, which is said to be the work of two of his deacons and travelling companions, but has come down to us in several discordant versions, and which was unknown to Eusebius, contains many embellishments of a pious fancy. Ignatius himself says, in his Epistle to the Romans, according to the Syriac version: "From Syria to Rome I fight with wild beasts, on water and on land, by day and by night, chained to ten leopards,¹ which are only made worse by signs of kindness. Yet their wickednesses do me good as a discipline; but not on this account am I justified. Would that I might be glad of the beasts made ready for me. And I pray that they may be found ready for me. Nay, I will fawn upon them, that they may devour me quickly, and not, as they have done with some, refuse to touch me from fear. Yea, and if they will not voluntarily do it, I will bring them to it by force." The Acts of his martyrdom relate more minutely, that Ignatius was brought before the emperor Trajan at Antioch in the ninth year of his reign (106–107), was condemned to death as a Christian, was transported in chains to Rome, and was there thrown to lions in the Coliseum for the amusement of the people. The transportation may be accounted for as designed to cool the zeal of the bishop, to terrify other Christians on the way, and to prevent an outbreak of fanaticism in the church of Antioch. But the chronological part of the statement makes difficulty. So far as we know, from coins and other ancient documents, Trajan did not come to Antioch on his Parthian expedition till the year 114 or 115. We must therefore either place the martyrdom later,² or

¹ "Ο ἵστι σπαριωτῶν τάγμα, is added here for explanation by the two Greek versions, but by Eusebius also, H. E. III. 36.

² Grabe proposes to read, in the *Martyr. c. 2*, δεκάριον ἐννάρῳ ἔρει, for ἐννάρῳ, which would give the year 116. Tillemont and others escape the difficulty by supposing,

suppose that Ignatius did not appear before the emperor himself at all, but before his governor. His remains were taken to Antioch, and preserved there as an "invaluable treasure."¹

On this journey to Rome, bishop Ignatius, as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, wrote seven epistles to various churches, mostly in Asia Minor. Eusebius and Jerome put them in the following order: (1) To the Ephesians; (2) to the Magnesians; (3) to the Trallians; (4) to the Romans; (5) to the Philadelphians; (6) to the Smyrneans; (7) to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. The first four were composed in Smyrna; the other three later in Troas. These seven epistles, in connexion with a number of other decidedly spurious epistles of Ignatius, have come down to us in two Greek versions, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is unquestionably to be preferred to the longer, which abounds with later interpolations. Besides these, to increase the confusion of controversy, a Syriac translation has been recently discovered, which contains only three of the former epistles—those to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans—and these in a much shorter form. This version is regarded by some as an exact transfer of the original, by others, with greater probability, as a mere extract from it for practical and ascetic purposes. The question therefore lies between the shorter Greek copy and the Syriac version. The preponderance of testimony is for the former, in which the letters are no loose patch-work, but were produced each under its one impulse, were known to Eusebius (probably even to Polycarp), and agree also with the Armenian version of the fifth century, as compared by Petermann. The three Syriac epistles, however, though they lack some of the strongest passages on episcopacy and on the divinity of Christ, contain the outlines of the same life-picture, and especially the same fervid enthusiasm for martyrdom, as the seven Greek epistles.

Ignatius stands out in history as the ideal of a catholic martyr,

without good reason, a double Parthian expedition of Trajan, one in 107 and another in 115 or 116. Comp. Francke: *Zur Geschichte Trajan's*, 1837, p. 253 sqq.

¹ Ἰστανούδης ἄνθρωπος, Martyr. c. 6.

and as the earliest advocate of the hierarchical principle in both its good and its evil points.

As he appears personally in his epistles, his most beautiful and venerable trait is his glowing love for Christ as God incarnate, and his enthusiasm for martyrdom. "I would rather die for Christ," says he, "than rule the whole earth." "It is glorious to go down in the world, in order to go up into God." He beseeches the Romans: "Leave me to the beasts, that I may by them be made partaker of God. I am a grain of the wheat of God, and I would be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread of God. Rather fawn upon the beasts, that they may be to me a grave, and leave nothing of my body, that, when I sleep, I may not be burdensome to any one. Then will I truly be a disciple of Christ, when the world can no longer even see my body. Pray the Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God."¹ And further on: "Fire, and cross, and exposure to beasts, scattering of the bones, hewing of the limbs, crushing of the whole body, wicked torments of the devil, may come upon me, if they only make me partaker of Jesus Christ. . . . My love is crucified, and there is no fire in me, which loves earthly stuff. . . . I rejoice not in the food of perishableness, nor in the pleasures of this life. The bread of God would I have, which is the flesh of Christ; and for drink I wish his blood, which is imperishable love."²

From these and similar passages, however, we perceive also that his martyr spirit exceeds the limits of the genuine apostolic soberness and resignation,³ and degenerates almost into boisterous impatience and morbid fanaticism. There mingles also in all his extravagant professions of humility and entire unworthiness a refined spiritual pride and self-commendation. And, finally, there is something offensive in the tone of his epistle to Polycarp, in which he addresses that venerable bishop and apostolic disciple, who must have been at that time already entered upon the years of manhood, not as a colleague and brother, but rather

¹ Ad Rom. c. 2, according to the Syriac text; c. 4, in the Greek.

² Ch. 4 (Syr.), or 5-7 (Gr.).

³ Comp. Phil. i. 23, 24, and Matt. xxvi. 39.

as a pupil, with exhortations and warnings, such as: "Strive after more knowledge than thou hast." "Be wise as the serpents." "Be more zealous than thou art." "Flee the arts of the devil."¹ This last injunction goes even beyond that of Paul to Timothy: "Flee youthful lusts,"² and can hardly be justified by it. Thus, not only in force and depth of teaching, but also in life and suffering, there is a significant difference between an apostolic and a post-apostolic martyr.

The doctrinal and churchly views of the Ignatian epistles are framed on a peculiar combination and somewhat materialistic apprehension of John's doctrine of the incarnation, and Paul's idea of the church as the body of Jesus Christ. In the "catholic church"—an expression introduced by him—that is, the episcopal orthodox organization of his day, the author sees, as it were, the continuation of the mystery of the incarnation, on the reality of which he laid great emphasis against the Docetists; and in every bishop, a visible representative of Christ, and a personal centre of ecclesiastical unity, which he presses home upon his readers with the greatest solicitude and almost passionate zeal. He thus applies those ideas of the apostles directly to the outward constitution, and makes them subservient to the principle and institution of the growing hierarchy. Here lies the chief importance of these epistles; and in this respect we have found it necessary to distinguish them already in the section on the organization of the church.³

It is remarkable that the idea of the episcopal hierarchy should be first clearly and boldly brought out, not by the contemporary Roman bishop Clement, but by a bishop of the Eastern church; though it was transplanted by him to the soil of Rome, and there sealed with his martyr blood. Equally noticeable is the circumstance, that these oldest documents of the hierarchy soon became

¹ *Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεύγε*, according to all the MSS., even the Syriac. Bunsen proposes to read *κακοτέχνους*, in the sense of seductive women, coquettes, instead of *κακοτεχνίας*. But this, besides being a mere conjecture, would not materially soften the warning.

² 2 Tim. ii. 22.

³ Comp. § 108.

so interpolated, curtailed, and mutilated by pious fraud, that it is to day almost impossible to discover with certainty the genuine Ignatius of history under the hyper- and pseudo-Ignatius of tradition.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE IGNATIAN CONTROVERSY.

Of all the writings of the apostolic fathers none have been so much discussed, especially in modern times, as the Ignatian Epistles. This arises partly from the importance of their contents to the episcopal question, partly from the fact of so many different versions. The latter fact seems to argue *as strongly for* the hypothesis of a genuine *basis* for all, *as against* the supposition of the *full* integrity of any one of the extant texts. The Ignatian controversies have not yet reached a satisfactory result, though they have made considerable progress towards one. In the first place, it is now on all hands agreed, that of the fifteen epistles which bear the name of Ignatius, at least eight are wholly spurious and of later origin; namely, three Latin (two ad S. Joannem Apost., and one ad S. Mariam Virginem, to which is added a Responsio of Mary), and five Greek (ad Mariam Cassobolitam, with an answer; ad Tarsenses; ad Antiochenos; ad Heronem Diaconum Antiochenum; and ad Philippenses). Their many offences against history and chronology are alone decisive against them. There remain therefore, at most, the seven epistles, which have been named in the text above and are cited by Eusebius. But here the views of critics diverge.

1. The *longer Greek recension*, first published by Pacaeus in 1557, and by Gessner in 1559 (in connexion with five spurious epistles), has found defenders in Whiston (1710), and even more recently in C. Meier (1836); but since Rothe (1837) and Arndt (1839) refuted their arguments, it has been universally given up, as a later expansion.

2. The *shorter Greek recension* was first published by archbishop Usher in 1644, and then by Isaac Vossius, from a Medicean codex, in 1646. We have from it also fragments of a Syriac version (in Cureton), and an Armenian version apparently from the Syriac (printed in 1783 in Constantinople, and compared by Petermann). In regard to this Greek Text there are three views, among which scholars are divided: (a) Its genuineness and integrity are advocated by Pearson (*Vindiciae Ignatianae*, 1672, against the doubts of the acute Calvinistic divine, Dallaeus, who, together with Salmasius, Blondel, and Sam. Basnage, suspected the whole Ignatian epistles on account especially of their strong episcopal tendency), latterly by Gieseler, Möhler (R. C.), Rothe (1837), Huther (1841), Düsterdieck (1843), Dorner (1845), and (since the publication of the shorter Syriac version) by Jacobson, Hefele (R. C., 1847 and 1855), Denzinger (R. C., 1849), Petermann (1849), Wordsworth, Churton (1852), and most thoroughly by Uhlhorn (1851 and '56). (b) The friends of the three Syriac epistles (see below under No. 3) let only so many of the seven epistles stand as agree with those. Also Mosheim, Neander, Thiersch (1852), and Lechler (1857) are inclined to suppose at least interpola-

tion. (e) Baur (first against Rothe, 1838, then against Bunsen, 1848 and '53, Schwegler (1846), and more thoroughly Hilgenfeld (1853), allow it, indeed, the advantage of greater age over the Syriac text, but deny it, with all other recensions, to Ignatius, and declare it a fiction of the later half of the second century; partly because the entire historical situation implied in it is in itself improbable, partly because it advocates a form of church government and combats Gnostic heresies, which could not have existed in the age of Ignatius. This extreme scepticism is closely connected with the whole view of the Tübingen school in regard to the history of primitive Christianity.

We certainly grant that the integrity of these epistles, even in the shorter copy, is not beyond all reasonable doubt. As the manuscripts of them contain, at the same time, decidedly spurious epistles (even the Armenian translation has thirteen epistles), the suspicion arises, that the seven genuine also have not wholly escaped the hand of the forger. Yet there are, in any case, very strong arguments for their genuineness and substantial integrity; viz. (a) The testimony of the fathers, especially of Eusebius. (b) The raciness and freshness of their contents, which a forger could not well imitate. (c) The small number of citations from the New Testament, indicating the period of the immediate disciples of the apostles. (d) Their way of combating the Judaists and Docetists (probably Judaizing Gnostics of the school of Cerinthus), showing us Gnosticism as yet in the first stage of its development. (e) Their dogmatical indefiniteness, particularly in regard to the Trinity and Christology, notwithstanding very strong expressions in regard to the divinity of Christ. (f) Their urgent recommendation of episcopacy as an institution still new and fresh. (g) Their entire silence respecting a Roman primacy, even in the epistle to the Romans.

3. The *Syriac version* contains three epistles (to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans), and even these in a much reduced form, less than half of the corresponding Greek epistles. It has the subscription: "Here end the three epistles of the bishop and martyr Ignatius," on which, however, Bunsen lays too great stress; for, even if it comes from the translator himself, and not from a mere transcriber, it does not necessarily exclude the existence of other epistles (comp. Petermann, l. c. p. xxi.). It was discovered in 1839 and '43 by the Rev. Henry Tattam in a monastery of the Libyan desert, together with 365 other Syriac manuscripts, now in the British Museum; published first by Cureton in 1845, and again in 1849, with the help of a third MS. discovered in 1847; and advocated as genuine by him, as also by Lee (1846), Bunsen (1847), Ritschl (1851 and 1857), Weiss (1852), and most fully by Lipsius (1856). In this view concurs also the latest editor of the works of the apostolic fathers, Dressel, though with the qualification: "*Versio Syriaca exhibere videtur genuina spuris permixta aequè ac archetypum Graecum. Utri prior locus sit concedendus, id recte defini non potest, nisi novi testes pro hac aut illa parte reperiantur superstitionibus efficaciores*" (Patr. Apost. 1857. Prolegg. p. XXIX.).

Now, it is true, that all the considerations we have adduced in favor of the shorter Greek text, except the first, are equally good, and some of them even better, for the genuineness of the Syrian Ignatius, which has the additional

advantage of lacking many of the most offensive passages (though not in the epistle to Polycarp). But against the Syriac text is, in the first place, the external testimony of antiquity, especially that of Eusebius, who confessedly knew of and used seven epistles, whereas the manuscript of this version, according to Cureton, belongs at earliest to the sixth or seventh century, a much later period, when the longer copy also had become circulated through all the East, and that too in a Syriac translation, as the fragments given by Cureton show. Secondly, the internal testimony of the fact, that the Syriac text, on close examination, betrays the character of a fragmentary *extract* from the Greek; as Baur, Hilgenfeld, and especially Uhlhorn, by an accurate comparison of the two, have proved in a manner hitherto unrefuted. In this state of the controversy, we must for the present side with the advocates of the genuineness of the shorter seven epistles; hoping, that, perhaps the discovery of some new manuscripts may clear up the obscurity which still exists.

§ 120. *Polycarp of Smyrna.*

S. POLYCARPI, Smyrnaeorum episcopi et hieromartyris, ad Philippenses *Epistola*, first editions (Gr. & Lat.), by *Petrus Halloisius*, Duaei, 1633; and *Jac. Usseus*, Lond. 1647; also in all the editions of the *Apost. Fath.*, especially that of *Jacobson*, who compared several new manuscripts.

MARTYRIUM S. Polycarpi (epistola circularis ecclesiae Smyrnensis), first complete ed. in Gr. & Lat., by archbish. *Usher*, Lond. 1647, then in all the ed. of the *Patr. Apost.*, especially that of *Jacobson*, who here also made use of three new codices.

Polycarp, a disciple of the apostle John, and a friend of Ignatius, presided as bishop over the church of Smyrna in Asia Minor in the first half of the second century; made a journey to Rome about the year 160, to adjust the Easter dispute; and died at the stake in the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 167, at a great age, having served the Lord six and eighty years.¹ He was not so original and intellectually active as Clement or Ignatius, but a man of truly venerable character, and simple, patriarchal piety. His disciple Irenaeus of Lyons, in a letter to his fellow-pupil Florinus,² who had fallen into the

¹ Comp. § 54. There is a difference of opinion as to the date of his death. Scalliger, Valesius, Gieseler, and Neander fix on the year 167; Baronius and Usher on 169; Tillemont on 166; Stieren on 161; Pearson, Dodwell, Cave, Lardner, and Gallandi on 147.

² Apud Euseb. H. E. v. 20.

error of Gnosticism, has given us most valuable reminiscences of this "blessed and apostolic presbyter," which show how faithfully he held fast the apostolic tradition, and how he deprecated all departure from it. He remembered vividly his mode of life and personal appearance, his discourses to the people, and his communications respecting the teaching and miracles of the Lord, as he had received them from the mouth of John and other eye-witnesses, in agreement with the Holy Scriptures. In another place,¹ Irenaeus says of Polycarp, that he all the time taught what he had learned from the apostles, and what the church handed down; and relates, that he once called the Gnostic Marcion in Rome, "the first-born of Satan." This is by no means incredible in a disciple of John, who, with all his mildness, forbids his people to salute the deniers of the true divinity and humanity of the Lord;² and it is confirmed by a passage in the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians,³ where he says: "Whoever doth not confess, that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist,⁴ and whoever doth not confess the mystery of the cross, is of the devil; and he, who wresteth the words of the Lord according to his own pleasure, and saith, there is no resurrection and judgment, is the first-born of Satan. Therefore would we forsake the empty babbling of this crowd and their false teachings, and turn to the word which hath been given us from the beginning, watching in prayer,⁵ continuing in fasting, and most humbly praying God, that he lead us not into temptation,⁶ as the Lord hath said: 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.'"⁷

This epistle to the Philippians, which consists of fourteen short chapters, and has been published in full since 1633, is the only document that remains to us from this last witness of the Johannean age. It is mentioned first by his pupil Irenaeus; it was still in public use in the churches of Asia Minor in the time of Jerome; and its contents correspond with the known life and character of Polycarp; its genuineness there is no just reason to

¹ Adv. haer. iii. 3, § 4.

² 2 Jno. 10.

³ Ch. 7.

⁴ Comp. 1 Jno. iv. 3

⁵ Comp. 1 Pet. iv. 7.

⁶ Matt. vi. 13.

⁷ Matt. xxvi. 41.

doubt.¹ It was written after the death of Ignatius (whose epistles it promises, c. 13, to transmit) in the name of Polycarp and his presbyters; commends the Philippians for the love they showed Ignatius in bonds and his companions, and for their adherence to the ancient faith; and proceeds with simple, earnest exhortations to love, harmony, contentment, patience, and perseverance, to prayer even for enemies and persecutors; also giving special directions for deacons, presbyters, youths, wives, widows, and virgins; with various reminiscences from the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul and John (which make it important to the history of the canon), and with occasional strokes against Gnostic Docetistic errors. Of Christ it speaks in high terms, as the Lord, who sits at the right hand of God, to whom everything in heaven and earth is subject; whom every living being serves; who is coming to judge the quick and the dead; whose blood God will require of all, who believe not on him. Polycarp guards with sound feeling against being considered equal with the apostles: "I write these things, brethren, not in arrogance, but because ye have requested me. For neither I, nor any other like me, can attain the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who was among you, and in the presence of the then living accurately and firmly taught the word of truth, who also in his absence wrote you an epistle,³ from which ye may edify yourselves in the faith given to you, which is the mother of us all,⁴ hope following after, and love to God and to Christ, and to neighbors leading further.⁵ For when any one is full of these virtues, he fulfils the command of righteousness; for he, who has love, is far from all sin."⁶ This does not agree altogether with the system of St. Paul. But it should be remembered that Polycarp, in the very first

Nor has its integrity been called in question with sufficient reason by Dallacus, and quite recently by Bunsen, and Ritschl in the second ed. of his *Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, p. 584-600.

² Ch. 2.

³ Ἐπιστολὴς must here probably be understood, like the Latin *literae*, of one epistle.

⁴ Gal. iv. 26.

⁵ προαγωγῆς.

⁶ Ch. 3.

chapter, represents faith and the whole salvation as the gift of free grace.¹

The Martyrium S. Polycarpi, in the form of a circular letter of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomelium in Phrygia, and all "parishes of the Catholic church," appears, from ch. 18, to have been composed before the first annual celebration of his martyrdom. Eusebius has incorporated in his church history the greater part of this beautiful memorial, and Usher first published it complete in the Greek original, 1647. It contains an edifying description of the trial and martyrdom of Polycarp, though embellished with some marvellous additions of legendary poesy. When, for example, the pile was kindled, the flames surrounded the body of Polycarp, like the full sail of a ship, without touching it; on the contrary it shone, unhurt, with a gorgeous color, like white baken bread, or like gold and silver in a crucible, and gave forth a lovely fragrance as of precious spices. Then one of the executioners pierced the body of the saint with a spear, and forthwith there flowed such a stream of blood that the fire was extinguished by it. The narrative mentions also a dove, which flew up from the burning pile; but Eusebius, Rufinus, and Nicephorus make no reference to it.² This dove was probably first marked on the margin, and designed as a symbol of the pure soul of the martyr, or of the power of the Holy Spirit which pervaded him; but it reminds us at once of the eagle, which flew up from the ashes of the Roman emperors, and proclaimed their apotheosis, and is thus connected with the rising worship of martyrs and saints. Throughout its later chapters this narrative considerably exceeds the sober limits of the Acts of the Apostles in the description of the martyrdom of Stephen and the elder James, and serves to illustrate, in this

¹ Χάριτι ἐστε σῳσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι θεοῦ, ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, comp. Eph. ii. 8, 9.

² All sorts of corrections, accordingly, have been proposed for *περιστιά* in c. 16, e. g. *ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ* ἢ. a sinistra; or *περὶ στήνα*; or *περίπτεον αἵματος* (scintillarum instar sanguinis). Comp. Heide: Patr. Ap. p. 288 (4th ed.) note 4; and Ruinart: Acta primorum marty. 1713 (ed. 2) p. 35. The symbol of the dove is frequently found on ancient sepulchral monuments.

respect also, the undeniable difference, notwithstanding all the affinity, between the apostolic and the old catholic literature.

§ 121. *The Other Apostolic Fathers. Barnabas, Hermas, Papias
The Epistle to Diognetus.*

In addition to the general literature quoted at § 117 compare:

1. HEFELE (R. C.): Das Sendschreiben des Ap. BARNABAS auf's Neue untersucht, übersetzt, und erklärt. Tüb. 1840.
2. HERMAE PASTOR GRAECE. Primum ed. R. ANGER. Praef. et indicem adj. G. Dindorf. Lips. 1856. *Hermas Pastor Graece* a TISCHENDORFIO editus, in DRESSEL's edition of the *Patres Apost.* 1857, p. 572-637, with Tischendorf's dissertation de *Herma Graeco Lipsiensi*, p. XLIV-LV.
3. The fragments of PAPIAS collected in ROUTH: *Reliquiae sacrae* I., p. 3-16.
4. EPISTOLA AD DIOGNETUM, ed. OTTO (with Lat. transl., introduction, and critical notes), ed. 2. Lips. 1852. *Der Brief an Diognet*, herausg. u. bearbeitet von HOLLENBERG. Berl. 1853. Comp. also SEMISCH, in *Herzog's Encykl.* III. 407-410.

The writings which have come down to us under the names of Barnabas and Hermas are of uncertain origin, and inferior to the other productions of the apostolic fathers in matter as well as in sound simplicity, and contain many elements which we must ascribe to a later generation.

1. The CATHOLIC EPISTLE of BARNABAS, in twenty-one chapters,¹ first published complete by Usher, 1643, and by Voss, 1646, is anonymous, and was first cited by Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, as a work of this apostolic man, who plays so prominent a part in the Acts.² A genuine production of Barnabas would doubtless have found a place in the canon, with the writings of Mark and Luke, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Besides, the contents of this epistle are not worthy of him. It has many good ideas, and valuable testimonies, such as that in favor of the observance of the Christian sabbath. But it goes to extremes in opposition to Judaism, and indulges in all sorts of artificial, sometimes absurd, allegorical fancies.³ It is a general

¹ The first four chapters, and part of the fifth, exist only in Latin, the rest in the Greek original.

² Acts i. 23; iv. 37; ix. 26 sq.; xi. 22, 30, &c.

³ Ch. 5-12

letter to Jewish Christian readers (according to Hilgenfeld, Gentile Christian), and has the same object as the Epistle to the Hebrews, but is infinitely behind it in depth, spiritual fervor and unction. It endeavors to show, that Christianity is the all-sufficient divine institution for salvation, and that Judaism, with all its laws and ceremonies, was entirely done away. It is an unsound application of the true thought, that the old is passed away, and all is made new by Christ. "It is sin," says the writer, "and an aggravation of guilt, to assert, that the old covenant is binding also on Christians. Christians should labor for deeper knowledge to know the difference. Christ has given a law, but a new one, without the yoke of constraint. Broken are the tables of Moses, that the love of Christ may be sealed in your hearts."¹ By Judaism, however, the anonymous author understands not the Old Testament, but the carnal misapprehension of it. The Old Testament is, with him, rather a veiled Christianity, which he puts into it by his mystical allegorical interpretation, as Philo smuggled into it the Platonic philosophy. In this allegorical conception he goes so far, that he actually denies the literal historical sense. He asserts, for example, that God never willed the sacrifice and fasting, the sabbath observance and temple-worship of the Jews, and that the laws of food did not relate at all to the eating of clean and unclean animals, but only to intercourse with different classes of men, and to certain virtues and vices. Such an ultra-Paulinism, verging almost to the anti-Judaistic Gnosticism, surely does not suit the apostolic Barnabas, who rather stood as a mediator between Paul and the Jewish apostles. With many forced and insipid views, however, the pseudo-Barnabas has some profound glances, and some inklings of a Christian philosophy. He broke the way in a measure to the Christian Gnostic theology of the Alexandrian fathers; and hence was so overrated by them.

The work comes probably from some Alexandrian Jewish Christian, who was acquainted with Philo's writings, and gave to

¹ Ch. 4.

his allegorical handling of the Old Testament a Christian turn Hefele puts the composition between the years 107 and 120.

2. The SHEPHERD OF HERMAS¹ represents a more practical and Judaizing spirit, and is distinguished from all the productions of the apostolic fathers by its literary form. It is a remarkable, but rather tedious apocalyptic book, a sort of didactic religious romance. It has come down to us in an old, inaccurate Latin translation, and was first published by Faber Stapulensis in 1513. The Greek text, which was brought from Mount Athos to Leipzig in 1856, and there published, is not the original, but seems to be a mediæval retranslation from the Latin. The circumstance that Hermas in the second and third books is instructed by an angel in the costume of a shepherd, gives the work its title. The author professes to be a contemporary of the Roman Clement, and appears to have been a married layman,² probably a Roman merchant, who had lost his wealth through his own sins and the misdeeds of his neglected sons, and had incurred the punishment of God, but had been awakened thereby to repentance, and now came forward himself as a plain preacher of repentance in the church. But now comes the question: is he the apostolic Hermas, whom Paul greets in Rom. xvi. 14; or a later Hermas (Hermes), a brother of the Roman bishop Pius I., about the middle of the second century? The former view was first proposed by Origen, though only as a private opinion; while the latter is confidently asserted in Muratori's *Fragmentum de Canone*, of about A.D. 170,³ and seems to have generally prevailed in the Latin church. It is possible that single parts, especially the visions, originated in the beginning of the second century, as Irenæus cites a passage from them as

¹ Pastor Hermae; Ὁ Ποιμήν.

² So Fleury and Hilgenfeld; while Tillemont and Hefele suppose him to have been a presbyter.

³ "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma (Hermas) conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo, fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, sed publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter prophetas completum (read completos) numero, neque inter apostolos, in finem temporum potest."

if from Scripture;¹ and that the younger Hermas was only the collector, translator, and compiler of the work. The estimates of the value of this document were very different. The Alexandrian fathers, who, with all their learning, were wanting in sound critical discrimination, use it often with great regard, and Origen even calls it divinely inspired.² On the contrary, the Fragmentum above mentioned reckons it among the apocrypha, with the remark that it should be read only in private, and not publicly in the church. Tertullian, who took offence at its antinomian doctrine of the possibility of a second repentance, and the lawfulness of second marriage, speaks even contemptuously of it, as also does Jerome. At all events it is far from the apostolic simplicity, and often reminds one of such Jewish apocalyptic writings as the Book of Enoch, the Fourth Book of Ezra, and the lost Book of Eldad and Medad, expressly cited by Hermas. Its doctrine of angels, particularly, flowed from such apocryphal sources.

As to its matter, the Pastor Hermae is a sort of system of Christian morality, and a call to repentance and to a renovation of the already somewhat slumbering and secularized church. It falls into three books:³ (1) Visiones; four visions and revelations, which were given to the author in the neighborhood of Rome, and in which the church appears to him first in the form of a venerable matron, then as a tower, and lastly as a virgin. (2) Mandata, or twelve commandments, prescribed by an angel in the garb of a shepherd. (3) Similitudines, or ten parables, like the visions, in which the church again appears in the form of a building, and the different virtues are represented under the figures of stones and trees.

The theological hue of the Pastor is very different from that of the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and bears witness that in the Roman church, whence it likewise issued,

¹ Adv. haer. IV. 20 § 2: *Εἶπεν ἡ γραφή*; perhaps through a fault of memory.

² "Valde utilis et divinitus inspirata." Explan. in Ep. ad Rom. xvi. 14.

³ This division, however, is made by later editors, and is found neither in the *manuscripts* nor with the ancient writers.

the free Pauline spirit dwelt side by side, in the beginning of the second century, with a legal Jewish Christian tendency, which afterwards, in a far richer form, became the reigning one. The work reminds one of the Epistle of James, and shows no trace of the influence of Paul, though it nowhere contends with him. It knows little of the gospel, and nothing of justifying faith; on the contrary, it talks much of the "law of Christ" and of repentance, lays chief stress on practice, enjoins fasting and voluntary poverty, and teaches the merit, even the supererogatory merit, of good works, and the sin-atoning virtue of martyrdom. Its Jewish Christianity, however, is by no means Ebionistic, but quite conformed to catholic ideas. The work of *Hermas* requires baptism as indispensable to salvation; agrees in all essential points with the orthodox christology, as well as with the Roman penance theory; and rests on the view of an exclusive church, in which alone salvation is to be found. Nor does it, with all its zeal for a stricter discipline, run into the excesses of Montanism; it ascribes, indeed, supererogatory merit to abstinence, but allows second marriage and second repentance, at least till the return of the Lord, which is supposed to be near at hand.¹ It closes with the characteristic exhortation: "Do good works, ye who have received earthly blessings from the Lord, that the building of the tower (the church) may not be finished while ye loiter; for the labor of the building has been interrupted for your sakes. Unless, therefore, ye hasten to do right, the tower will be finished, and ye will be shut out."

3. *PAPIAS*, a disciple of John (?) and friend of Polycarp, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, till towards the middle of the second century, was a pious man, and well read in the Scriptures, but credulous and weak minded. He entertained a grossly materialistic view of the millennium. He collected with great zeal the oral traditions of the apostles respecting the discourses and works of Jesus, and published them under the title: "Explana-

¹ On account of this comparative mildness, Tertullian calls *Hermas* sarcastically *ille apocryphus Pastor mœchorum*." De pud. c. 20, comp. c. 10.

tions of the Lord's Discourses,"¹ in five books. Although this work (according to Gallandi and Pitra) maintained itself down to the thirteenth century, yet we possess only some fragments of it in Irenaeus and Eusebius, which, together with a few valuable notices, in regard, for example, to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, contain perfectly monstrous and fabulous inventions. Papias puts into the mouth of the Lord, for instance, the following prophecy concerning the vines in the millennium: "The days shall come, in which vines shall grow up, each having ten thousand main branches, and on every main branch ten thousand arms, and on every arm ten thousand shoots, and on every shoot ten thousand bunches, and on every bunch ten thousand grapes, and every grape, when pressed, shall give twenty-five measures of wine. And if any one take hold of a holy bunch, another bunch shall cry out, I am better, take me, and through me bless the Lord."² Even understood as a figure for the inexhaustible spiritual fruitfulness of Christ and his church, this parabolic speech contrasts quite too strongly with our Lord's discourses in the Gospels, to lay any possible claim to credibility.

4. The anonymous EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, in twelve chapters, first published in Greek by Henry Stephanus, 1592, is a reply to a distinguished heathen³ in vindication of Christianity, and forms the transition from the post-apostolic literature to the apologetic. It evinces fine taste and classical culture, is remarkable for its fresh enthusiasm of faith, richness of thought, and elegance of style, and is altogether one of the most beautiful memorials of Christian antiquity. We have already given, in the introduction to this period,⁴ its masterly description of the

¹ *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις.*

² Preserved in the Latin translation of Irenaeus, Adv. haer. V. c. 33, § 3 (comp. § 4), who seems to have taken this childish parable in good faith. With it agrees the fragment of Papias, which Dom Pitra, in the first vol. of the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, communicates from an Armenian manuscript of the twelfth century. But this was not a translation of Papias, as Pitra supposes, but of Irenaeus, as the title and the opening words plainly intimate.

³ Otto conjectures that he was the preceptor of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, whose name was Diognetus. But this would bring the composition down to the middle of the second century.

⁴ See § 46.

Christian life truly worthy of a disciple of the apostles. And the author calls himself such in the text,¹ but not till the eleventh chapter, which, with the twelfth, seems to be an addition by a later hand, and is even marked in the manuscripts as suspicious. The epistle itself has no certain marks of the precise time of its composition, but proves itself in general a production of the transition period between the simple practical faith of the apostolic fathers and the reflective theology of the apologists. The manuscripts, and more recently Otto, ascribe it to Justin Martyr, whose style, however, is far from being so pure and forcible as this. The epistle, also, rather breathes the free spirit of the Pauline school. Hefele puts it among the works of the apostolic fathers, and assigns it to the age of Trajan, while others place it later in the reign of Adrian, and attribute it to the apologist Quadratus (so Dorner) or Aristides.

§ 122. *Justin the Philosopher and Martyr.*

- I. CORPUS APOLOGETARUM Christianorum saeculi secundi, ed. J. C. Th. OTTO, Jen. 1847 sqq. (The first 5 vols. contain the genuine and spurious Opera S. JUSTINI Philosophi et Martyris.) Older ed. of the Apologists by PRUD. MARANUS, Par. 1742, republ. at Venice, 1747. The "Apologies" of Justin M. were also edited by GRABE in 1700, and by THIRLBY in 1722.
- II. BP. KAYE: Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr. Cambr. 1829, 3d ed. 1853. C. SEMISCH: Justin der Märtyrer. Bresl. 1840, 2 vols. The same in English, by Ryland, Edinb. 1844. 2 vols. C. OTTO: Zur Charakteristik des heil. Justinus. Wien, 1852. Also his art. "Justinus der Apologet," in Ersch and Gruber: Encykl. Second Section, 30th part (1853), pp. 39-76.

The next series of the church fathers, which flourished in the reigns of Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, is the Apologists; so called, because they directed their literary labors chiefly, though not exclusively, to the defence of Christianity against the attacks and the slanders of heathen and Jewish enemies.² They are distinguished from the apostolic fathers by greater culture and learning. They were mostly philosophers

¹ Ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητής.

² Comp. § 60-66.

and rhetoricians, who embraced Christianity in mature age after earnest investigation, and found peace in it for mind and heart. Their writings breathe the same heroism, the same enthusiasm for the faith, which animated the martyrs in their sufferings and death.

The most eminent of these is Flavius Justinus, surnamed, so early as by Tertullian, "Philosopher and Martyr." He was born towards the close of the first century, or in the beginning of the second, in the Græco-Roman colony of Flavia Neapolis, the ancient Sichem in Samaria (now Nablus), and educated in the Hellenic heathenism. Thirsting for truth, he went, as he himself relates, to a Stoic, then to a Peripatetic, then to a Pythagorean, without finding satisfaction. At last he cast himself into the arms of Platonism, and thought himself already near the promised goal of this philosophy, the vision of God, when an unknown venerable old man, in a solitary walk on the sea-shore, shook his confidence in all human wisdom, and pointed him to the writings of the Old Testament prophets. In these he soon found the infallible philosophy, which rests upon the firm ground of divine revelation.

Forthwith he sought the society of the Christians, whose pious walk and courage in death had already extorted his esteem, and received instruction from them in the history and doctrine of the gospel. Thus, in perhaps the thirtieth year of his age, the enthusiastic Platonist became a believing Christian. To Tatian also, and Theophilus of Antioch, and Hilary, the Jewish prophets were in like manner the bridge to the Christian faith.

After his conversion Justin devoted himself wholly to the vindication of the Christian religion, as an itinerant evangelist, with no fixed abode, and no regular office in the church. "Every one," says he, "who can preach the truth and does not preach it, incurs the judgment of God." And like Aristides, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Heraclas, Gregory Thaumaturgus, he retained his philosopher's cloak,¹ that he might the more readily assume

¹ *Τρίβων, τριβώνιον, pallium.*

philosophical religious discourse. As soon as he appeared in early morning, as he himself tells us, upon a public walk, many came to him with: *Φιλόσοφε χαῖρε!* In Ephesus he made an effort to gain the Jew Trypho and his friends to the Christian faith.

He labored last, for the second time, in Rome. Here, by the instigation of a Cynic philosopher, Crescens, whom he had beaten in a disputation, he, with six other Christians, about the year 166, was scourged and executed. Fearlessly and joyfully, as in life, so also in the face of death, he bore witness to the truth, and proved by his own example the steadfastness, of which he had so often boasted in his believing brethren. His last words were: "We desire nothing more than to suffer for our Lord Jesus Christ; for this gives us salvation and joyfulness before his dreadful judgment seat, at which all the world must appear."

To his oral testimony Justin added extensive literary labors on the field of apology and polemics. His principal works are a dialogue with the Jew Trypho (soon after A.D. 139), in which he answers the objections of Judaism, and two Apologies for Christianity against heathenism, a larger, of the year 139, addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and a smaller, addressed to Marcus Aurelius, between 161 and 166. Of the other works which bear his name, an address "To the Greeks," an "Exhortation to the Greeks," a treatise "On the Unity of God," another "On the Resurrection," and the "Epistle to Diognetus" described in preceding section, are of more or less doubtful genuineness; the "Deposition of the True Faith," the epistle "to Zenas and Serenus," the "Refutation of some Theses of Aristotle," the "Questions to the Orthodox," the "Questions of the Christians to the Heathens," and the "Questions of the Heathens to the Christians," are decidedly spurious, and belong in some cases to the third and fourth centuries; and the polemic works "against all Heresies," mentioned by himself in his first apology, and "against Marcion," of which Irenaeus gives us fragments, are lost. Perhaps the latter was only a part of the former.

The works of Justin bring vividly before us the time when the church was still a small sect, despised and persecuted, but bold in faith and joyful in death. They everywhere attest his honesty and earnestness, his enthusiastic love for Christianity, and his fearlessness in its defence against all assaults from without and perversions from within. Justin was a man of very extensive reading, enormous memory, inquiring spirit, and many profound ideas, but wanting in critical discernment. His mode of reasoning is often ingenious and convincing, but sometimes loose and rambling, fanciful and puerile. His style is easy and vivacious, but diffuse and careless. He is the first of the church fathers to bring classical scholarship and Platonic philosophy in contact with the Christian theology. He found in Platonism many responses to the gospel, which he attributed in part to the fragmentary, germ-like revelation of the Logos before the incarnation,¹ and in part to an acquaintance with the Mosaic scriptures. With him Christ was the absolute reason,² and Christianity the only true philosophy.³ His sources of theological knowledge are, partly the living church tradition, partly the Holy Scriptures, from which he cites most frequently, and generally from memory, the Old Testament prophets (in the Septuagint), and the "Memorials of the Apostles,"⁴ as he calls the canonical Gospels. He expressly mentions the Revelation of John. But, like the Pastor Hermæ, he nowhere notices Paul; though several allusions to passages of his Epistles can hardly be mistaken, and Justin's position towards heathenism was anything but the Ebionistic, and was far more akin to that of Paul. Any dogmatical inference from this silence is the less admissible, since in the genuine writings of this father not one of the apostles or evangelists is expressly named, but reference is always made directly to Christ. Justin's exegesis of the Old Testament is typological and Messianic throughout, finding references everywhere to Christ.

¹ Ὁ λόγος σπερματικός.

² Μόνη φιλοσοφία ἀσφαλὴς τε καὶ σύμφορος.

³ Ὁ πᾶς λόγος.

⁴ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων.

§ 123. *The Other Greek Apologists of the Second Century.*

CORPUS APOLOGETARUM, etc., by MARANUS, and by OTTO, see § 122.

Somewhat earlier than Justin, under Adrian, QUADRATUS, a disciple of the apostles and bishop of Athens, ARISTIDES, an eloquent philosopher of Athens, and ARISTO of Pella, wrote apologies for Christianity; the first two to the heathens, the third to the Jews. But their works, a few fragments excepted, have all disappeared. The same is true of the writings of MELITO of Sardis (of which we have interesting fragments in Eusebius), CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS of Hierapolis, and MILTIADES, who all lived under Marcus Aurelius. The apology of Melito, one of the most eminent bishops and most prolific authors of his time, from whom Eusebius enumerates eighteen works, was composed about the year 170, and has been recently re-discovered in a Syriac translation, and placed in the British Museum, but not yet published. We have an important fragment from him on the canon of the Old Testament.

Of the following apologists, who flourished after the middle of the second century, we possess the works :

1. TATIAN, of Assyria, an itinerant philosopher, afterwards a pupil of Justin, whom he met in Rome. In his "Address to the Greeks"¹ he vindicates Christianity as the "philosophy of the barbarians," and exposes the contradictions, absurdities, and immoralities of the Greek mythology from actual knowledge and with much spirit and acuteness, but with vehement contempt and bitterness. He afterwards fell back to Gnosticism, and became the founder of the ascetic sect of the Encratites.² Among his lost works is also the "Diatessaron,"³ a harmony of the four Gospels, in which, according to Theodoret, he suppresses the genealogies and all that attests the human descent of Jesus;—under the influence, no doubt, of a Gnostic docetistic spirit. Daniel, in his monograph on Tatian, thinks he only anticipated

¹ Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας.

² Comp. § 72, p. 245.

³ Διὰ τεσσάρων.

monkery, and, a century later, with the same principles, would have been reckoned among the saints. But even in the second century there was a considerable difference between the asceticism of the catholic church and that of the Gnostic dualistic stamp.

2. ATHENAGORAS, a converted philosopher of Athens, addressed a *πρεσβεία* (intercessio) *περὶ Χριστιανῶν* to Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus (about 177), in which he calmly, clearly, eloquently, and conclusively refutes the three charges of atheism, incest, and Thyestean feasts. Besides this we have from him an able treatise "On the Resurrection of the Dead," which he endeavors to establish from the wisdom, power, and justice of God, as well as from the destiny of man.

3. THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, who died while bishop there in 181, wrote three books in defence of the Christian faith, addressed to an educated heathen friend, Antolycus;¹ evincing extensive knowledge of Grecian literature, considerable philosophical talent, and a power of graphic, elegant representation. He is the first to use the term "trias" for the divine trinity. His other works, polemic and exegetical, are lost.

4. Under the name of the philosopher HERMIAS, otherwise entirely unknown to us, we have a "Mockery of Heathen Philosophers,"² which, with the light arms of wit and sarcasm, endeavors to prove from the history of philosophy, by exposing the contradictions of the various systems, the truth of Paul's declaration, that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. Many scholars, however, assign this small and unimportant work to a much later period.

Contemporary with these apologists, though not of their class, were DIONYSIUS, bishop of Corinth (about 170), who wrote eight Catholic Epistles to the Lacedemonians, the Athenians, the Romans, and others; and HEGESIPPUS († about 180), an orthodox Jewish Christian, who collected on his extensive travels "Memorials"³ of the apostolic and post-apostolic age, particularly of the

¹ Ποῶς Ἀντόλυκον.

² Διασυρημὸς τῶν ἑξω φιλοσόφων.

³ Ὑπομνήματα, in five books. The Fragments of Hegesippus are collected in Routh's *Reliquiae sacrae*, sec. ed. vol. i. 205-219.

Palestinian churches. But nothing remains to us of either, except some fragments in Eusebius. The work of Hegesippus was the first effort, though a very imperfect one, towards a history of the church. His reports on the character and martyrdom of St. James the Just, Simeon of Jerusalem, the rise of heresies, the episcopal succession and the preservation of the orthodox doctrine in Corinth and Rome, as embodied in the history of Eusebius, command attention for their antiquity; but as they show that his object was apologetic and polemical rather than historical, and as they bear a somewhat Judaizing (though by no means Ebionistic) coloring, they must be received with critical caution.

§ 124. *Irenaeus.*

- I. S. IRENAEI Episcopi Lugdun. quae supersunt omnia, ed. A. STIEREN, Lips. 1853. 2 vols. (The second volume contains the Prolegomena to the earlier editions by *Erasmus*, Basel, 1526; *Gallasius*, Gen. 1570; *Grynæus*, Bas. 1571; *Fevardentius*, Col. 1596 and often; *Grabe*, Oxf. 1702; and, above all, *Massuet*, Par. 1710, and Ven. 1734, 2 vols. fol.; also the disputations of *Maffei* and *Pfaff* on the FRAGMENTS of Irenaeus.) The five books Adv. Haereses are also separately edited with comments by W. WIGAN HARVEY, Cambr. 1857, in 2 vols.
- II. REN. MASSUET (R. C.): Dissertationes in Irenaei libros (de hereticis, de Irenaei vita, gestis et scriptis, de Ir. doctrina), prefixed to his edition of the Opera. DEYLING: Irenaeus, evangelicae veritatis confessor ac testis. Lips. 1721 (against Massuet). STIEREN: Art. "Irenaeus" in Ersch and Gruber's Encykl. II. sect. Vol. XXIII. J. BEAVEN: Life of Irenaeus. Lond. 1841. DUNCKER: Des heil. Irenaeus Christologie. Gött. 1843. SCHAFF: Irenaeus (in "Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund," vol. V.) Mercersb. 1852.

Almost simultaneously with the apology against false religions without arose the polemic literature against the heresies, the various forms of pseudo-Christianity, especially the Gnostic; and upon this was formed the dogmatic theology of the church. At the head of the old catholic controversialists stand Irenaeus and his disciple Hippolytus, both of Greek education, but both belonging, in their ecclesiastical relations and labors, to the West.

Irenaeus sprang from Asia Minor, was born between the year

120 and 140, and enjoyed in his youth the instruction of the venerable Polycarp of Smyrna.¹ Through this link he still was connected with the Johannean age. The spirit of his preceptor passed over to him. "What I heard from him," says he, "that wrote I not on paper, but in my heart, and by the grace of God I constantly bring it afresh to mind." Perhaps he also accompanied Polycarp on his journey to Rome in connexion with the Easter controversy. During the persecution in South Gaul under Marcus Aurelius, he was a presbyter there, and was sent by his people to the Roman bishop Eleutherus, as a mediator in the Montanistic disputes. After the death of Pothinus, he took the place of this aged martyr in 178 as bishop of Lyons, and labored there with zeal and success, by tongue and pen, for the restoration of the heavily visited church, for the spread of Christianity in Gaul, and for the defence and development of the doctrine of the church. He is supposed to have died as a martyr in the persecution under Septimius Severus, A.D. 202 (though the silence of Tertullian and Eusebius makes this point very doubtful), and was buried under the altar of the church of St. John in Lyons.

Irenaeus was the leading representative of the Asiatic Johannean school in the second half of the second century, the champion of catholic orthodoxy against Gnostic heresy, and the mediator between the Eastern and Western churches. He united a learned Greek education and philosophical penetration with practical wisdom and moderation, and a sound sense of the simple and essential in Christianity. We plainly trace in him the influence of the spirit of John. "The true way to God," says he, in opposition to the false Gnosis, "is love. It is better to be willing to know nothing but Jesus Christ the crucified, than to fall into ungodliness through over-curious questions and paltry subtleties." He was an enemy of all error and schism, and, on the whole, the most orthodox of the ante-Nicene fathers, except in eschatology. Here, with Papias and most of his contempo-

¹ Comp. § 120.

raries, he maintained the millenarian views which were subsequently abandoned by the catholic church. But with all his zeal for pure and sound doctrine, he was liberal towards subordinate differences, and remonstrated with the bishop of Rome for his unapostolic efforts to force an outward uniformity in respect to the time and manner of celebrating Easter.¹ "The apostles have ordained," says he in the third fragment, which appears to refer to that controversy, "that we make conscience with no one of food and drink, or of particular feasts, new moons, and sabbaths. Whence, then, controversies; whence schisms? We keep feasts but with the leaven of wickedness and deceit, rending asunder the church of God, and we observe the outward, to the neglect of the higher, faith and love." He showed the same moderation in the Montanistic troubles.

The most important work of Irenaeus is his refutation of Gnosticism,² in five books. It was composed in the pontificate of Eleutherus, therefore between the years 177 and 192. It is at once the polemic theological masterpiece of the ante-Nicene age, and the richest mine of information respecting the Gnostic, particularly the Valentinian heresy, and the church doctrine of that age.³

His epistle against Florinus on the unity of God and the origin of evil, a letter to the Roman bishop Victor on the Easter question, and a writing to Blastus on schism,⁴ are all gone except a few fragments. So with his treatise on the peculiarity of the style of the apostle Paul, which he justly traces to the mighty momentum of thought in that impetuous mind. Perhaps Irenaeus is the author also of the letter of the churches of Lyons

¹ Comp. § 98.

² Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως (1 Tim. vi. 20); cited, since Jerome, under the simpler title: *Adversus haereses*. The Greek original of the work has come down to us only by fragments (in Euseb., Theodor., and especially Epiphanius: *Haer.* xxxi. c. 9-33); but we have it complete in a literal Latin translation crowded with Grecisms. An attempt to translate it back, for the better understanding of it, has been made on the first four chapters of the 3rd book by H. W. J. Thiersch ("Stud. u. Kritiken," 1842). Semler's objections to its genuineness have been so thoroughly refuted by Chr. G. F. Walch (*De authentia librorum Irenaei*, 1774), that Möhler and Stieren might have spared themselves the trouble.

³ Comp. § 70-74.

⁴ Περὶ σχίσματος.

and Vienne on the persecution there,—a worthy parallel to the similar letter of the church of Smyrna.

Finally, we must mention four more Greek fragments of Irenaeus, which Pfaff discovered at Turin in 1715, and first published. Their genuineness has been called in question by some Roman divines, though without sufficient reason. The first treats of the true knowledge,¹ which consists not in the solution of subtle questions, but in divine wisdom and the imitation of Christ; the second is on the eucharist;² the third, on the duty of toleration in subordinate points of difference, with reference to the Easter difficulties; the fourth, on the object of the incarnation, which is stated to be the purging away of sin and the final annihilation of all evil.

§ 125. *Hippolytus.*

I. S. HIPPOLYTI Opera, ed. J. A. FABRICIUS, Hamb. 1716-18. 2 vols.; ed. GALLANDI in Biblioth. Patrum, Ven. 1760, Vol. II. Comp. *Photius*: Cod. 121. *Euseb.*: H. E. VI. 20, 22. *Prudentius* in the 11th of his Martyr Hymns (περὶ στεφάνων). *Hieron.*: Catal. 61.

S. HIPPOLYTI Episc. et Mart. Refutationes omnium haeresium librorum decem quae supersunt, ed. DUNCKER et SCHNEIDEWIN. Gott. 1856. The first edition of this work, which was discovered at Mt. Athos in Greece in 1842, and is to be found in the library at Paris, appeared under the name of Origen: Ὡριγένους φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος. Origenis Philosophoumena, &c., ed. EM. MILLER, Oxon. 1851. (The first book had been long known through the works of Origen, but had justly been already denied to him by Huet and de la Rue; the second and third, and beginning of the fourth, are still wanting; the tenth lacks the conclusion. This work is now universally ascribed to Hippolytus, except by Dr. Baur, who considers the Roman presbyter Caius the author.)

II. E. F. KIMMEL: De Hippolyti vita et scriptis. Jen. 1839. MÜHLER: l. c. p. 584 sqq. Both are confined to the older confused sources of information.

Since the discovery of the Philosophoumena several books and tracts on Hippolytus have appeared, which present him under a new light. BUNSEN: Hippolytus and his Age. Lond. 1852. 4 vols. (German in 2 vols. Leipz. 1855); 2nd ed. with much irrelevant and heterogeneous matter (under the title: Christianity and Mankind). Lond. 1854. 7 vols. JACOBI in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift," Berl. 1851 and '53; and Art. "Hippolytus" in Herzog's Encykl. VI. 131 sqq. 1856. BAUR, in the "Theol. Jahrb."

¹ Γνωσις ἀληθινή.

² Comp. § 102.

Tüb. 1853. RITSCHL, ditto, 1854. GIESELER, in the "Stud. u. Krit." Hamb. 1853. DÖLLINGER (R. C.): Hippolytus u. Callistus, oder die röm. Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrh. Regensb. 1853 (apologetic for the Roman church). WORDSWORTH: S. Hippolytus and his Age. Lond. 1853. W. E. TAYLOR: Hippol. and the Christ. Ch. of the third cent. Lond. 1853. LENORMANT: Controverse sur les Philos. d'Orig. Par. 1853.

The life and labors of Hippolytus had long been shrouded in a mysterious twilight, until a happy literary discovery in 1851 shed clearer light upon them. Hippolytus was undoubtedly one of the most learned and eminent scholars and theologians of his time. The Roman church placed him in the number of her saints and martyrs, little suspecting that he would come forward in the nineteenth century as an accuser against her. But the statements of the ancients respecting him are very obscure and confused. Certain it is, that he received a thorough Grecian education, and, as he himself says, in a fragment preserved by Photius, heard the discourses of Irenaeus in Lyons. His public life falls in the end of the second century and the first three decennaries of the third (about 198 to 236), and he belongs to the western church, though he may have been, like Irenaeus, of Oriental extraction.

Eusebius is the first who mentions him, and he calls him, indefinitely, bishop. Jerome gives a more complete list of his writings, but no more definite information as to his see. An old catalogue of the popes, the Catalogus Liberianus (about A.D. 354), calls him only presbyter. The Chronicon paschale (about 306), and later accounts, make him bishop of Portus Romanus, the Port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber (now Porto, opposite Ostia).¹ Perhaps he was both, at least if we may suppose, with Bunsen, that already at that early period the Roman suburban bishops, the cardinales episcopi, were at the same time members of the Roman college of presbyters. But more probably he was merely a schismatic bishop. Equally unsatisfactory are the accounts of

¹ The opinion of Le Moyne, Cave, and others, that this term must lead us to the Arabian Portus Romanus (now Aden), which is nowhere else mentioned as an episcopal see, rests on an entire misapprehension of Euseb. VI. 50, where Hippolytus is accidentally collocated with Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia.

his martyrdom. The Liberian Catalogue just mentioned says he was banished, with the Roman bishop Pontianus, about 235, to the unhealthy island of Sardinia, and seems also to fix his death there. Yet he may very possibly have returned to Rome. The Spanish poet Prudentius (about 400) places his martyrdom at all events in the neighborhood of that city. According to this poetical description, Hippolytus belonged to the Novatian party,¹ but in the prospect of death regretted the schism, exhorted his numerous followers to return into the bosom of the catholic church, and then, in bitter allusion to his name and to the mythical Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, was dragged to death by wild horses. Here, in spite of the chronological error, there must be at least somewhat of fact at bottom, which very well suits the author of the *Philosophoumena*. For he was not in sympathy with the Roman see, and favored strict principles in regard to discipline, like Novatian, who did not appear, however, till some ten years after the death of Hippolytus. Prudentius also saw his subterranean grave-chapel in Rome, where his martyrdom was represented.

In the year 1551, in this chapel on the Via Tiburtina, near the basilica of the celebrated Roman martyr Laurentius, a much mutilated marble statue, now in the Vatican library, was exhumed, which gave a new impulse to research respecting this father, and carried it a step forward. This statue is not mentioned indeed by Prudentius, and was perhaps originally designed for an entirely different purpose, possibly for a Roman senator; but it is at all events very ancient, perhaps even of the third or fourth century, and represents a venerable man clothed with the Greek pallium and Roman toga, seated in a bishop's chair. On the back of the cathedra are engraved the paschal cycle, or easter-table of Hippolytus for seven series of sixteen years, beginning with the first year of Alexander Severus (222), and a list of his writings, among which is named a work on the All.²

¹ Prudentius calls it schisma Novati instead of Novatiani, as the two names are often confounded, especially in the Greek fathers.

² *Περὶ τοῦ παντός.*

But much more important is the recent discovery and publication of one of his works themselves, and that no doubt the most valuable of them all, viz. the *Philosophoumena*, or "Refutation of all heresies." It is now almost universally acknowledged, that this work comes not from Origen, as the first editor thought, nor from the antimontanistic and antichiliastic presbyter Caius, but from Hippolytus; because, among other reasons, the author, in accordance with the Hippolytus statue, himself refers to a work "On the All," as his own, and because Hippolytus is declared by the fathers to have written a work "*Adversus omnes haereses*."¹ The entire matter of the work, too, agrees with the scattered statements of antiquity respecting his ecclesiastical position; and at the same time places that position in a much clearer light, and gives us a better understanding of those statements.

The author of the *Philosophoumena* appears as one of the most prominent of the clergy in or near Rome in the beginning of the third century; probably a bishop, since he reckons himself among the successors of the apostles and the guardians of the doctrine of the church. He took an active part in all the doctrinal and ritual controversies of his time, but fell into ill savor with the Roman bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus (202–223), on account of their Patripassian leanings, and their loose penitential discipline. The latter especially, who had given public offence by his former mode of life,² he attacked with earnestness and not without passion. He was, therefore, though not exactly a schismatical counter pope (as Döllinger supposes), yet the head of a disaffected party, orthodox in doctrine, rigoristic in discipline, and thus very nearly allied to the Montanists before him, and to the later schism of Novatian. It is for this reason the more remarkable, that we have no account respecting the subsequent course of this movement, except the later unreliable tradition, that Hippolytus finally returned into the bosom of the catholic

¹ On the chair of the statue, it is true, the *Philosophoumena* is not mentioned, unless it be concealed under the title *Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας*. But this silence is easily accounted for, partly from the greater rarity of the book, partly from its offensive opposition to two Roman popes.

² Comp. § 110.

church, and expiated his schism by martyrdom, either in Sardinia, or more probably in Rome (A.D. 235, or rather 236, under the persecuting emperor Maximinus the Thracian).

The *Philosophoumena*, at least next to the anti-gnostic work of Irenaeus, is the leading polemic theological production of the ante-Nicene church, and sheds much new light, not only upon the ancient heresies, and the development of the church doctrine, but also upon the history of philosophy and the condition of the Roman church in the beginning of the third century. It furthermore affords valuable testimony to the genuineness of the Gospel of John, both from the mouth of the author himself, and through his quotations from the much earlier Gnostic Basilides, who was a later contemporary of John (about A.D. 125). The first of the ten books gives an outline of the heathen philosophies; hence the title of the work, which does not answer to the main body of the contents. The second and third books, which are wanting, treated probably of the heathen mysteries, and mathematical and astrological theories. The fourth is occupied likewise with the heathen astrology and magic, which must have exercised great influence, particularly in Rome. In the fifth book the author comes to his proper theme, the refutation of all the heresies from the times of the apostles to his own. He takes up thirty-two in all, most of which, however, are merely different branches of Gnosticism and Ebionism. He simply states the heretical opinion from lost writings, without introducing his own reflection, and refers them to the Greek philosophy, mysticism, and magic, thinking them sufficiently refuted by being traced to those heathen sources. The ninth book, in refuting the doctrine of the Noëtians and Callistians, makes remarkable disclosures of events in the Roman church. The tenth book, made use of by Theodoret, contains a brief recapitulation, and the author's own confession of faith, as a positive refutation of the heresies. The composition falls some years after the death of Callistus; therefore between the years 223 and 235.

Hippolytus is rather a learned and judicious compiler, than an original author. In the philosophical parts of his work he

borrowed largely from Sextus Empiricus, word for word, without acknowledgment; and in the theological part from Irenaeus. In doctrine he agrees, for the most part, with Irenaeus, even to his chiliasm, but is not his equal in discernment, depth, and moderation. He repudiates philosophy, almost with Tertullian's vehemence, as the source of all heresies; yet he employs it to establish his own views. On the subject of the trinity he assails Monarchianism, and advocates the hypostasian theory with a zeal which brought down upon him the charge of dytheism. His disciplinary principles, as already observed, are rigoristic and ascetic. In this respect also he is akin to Tertullian, though he places the Montanists, like the Quartodecimanians, but with only a brief notice, among the heretics.

Several other productions, exegetical, homiletic, historical, chronological, apologetic, and some smaller polemic works, all in Greek, have been ascribed to Hippolytus; but most of them are lost, and others are extant only in fragments. In exegesis this father, like his younger contemporary, Origen, pursued the allegorical method.

§ 126. *The Alexandrian School.*

J. G. MICHAELIS: *De scholae Alexandrinae prima origine, progressu, ac praeceptis doctoribus.* Hal. 1739. J. MATTER: *Essai historique sur l'école d'Alexandrie.* Par. 1820. 2 vols. GUERICKE: *De schola quae olim Alex. floruit, catechetica.* Hal. 1824. 2 parts. HASSELBACH: *De schola quae Alex. floruit, catech.* Stett. 1826. P. 1. RITTER: *Gesch. der christl. Philos.* I. 421 sqq.

In Alexandria, the metropolis of Egypt, the flourishing seat of commerce, of Grecian and Jewish learning, and of the greatest library of the ancient world, there existed, according to tradition, from the founding of the church in that city by the evangelist Mark, a catechetical school¹ under the supervision of the bishop. It was originally designed only for the practical purpose of preparing willing heathens and Jews of all classes for

¹ Eusebius calls it τὸ τῆς κατηχήσεως διδασκαλεῖον, and διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων. Sozomen, τὸ ἱερὸν διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων; Jerome, ecclesiastica schola.

baptism. But in that home of the Philonic theology, of Gnostic heresy, and of Neo-Platonic philosophy, it soon very naturally assumed a learned character, and became, at the same time, a sort of theological seminary, which exercised a powerful influence on the education of many bishops and church teachers, and on the development of Christian science. It had at first but a single teacher, afterwards two or more, but no fixed salary, nor special buildings. The teachers gave their instructions in their dwellings, generally after the style of the ancient philosophers.

The first superintendent of this school known to us was Pantænus, a converted Stoic philosopher, about A.D. 180. He afterwards labored as a missionary in India, and left several commentaries, of which, however, nothing remains but some scanty fragments. He was followed by Clement, to A.D. 202; and Clement, by Origen, to 232, who raised the school to the summit of its prosperity. The institution was afterwards conducted by Origen's pupils, Heraclas († 248) and Dionysius († 265), and last by the blind but learned Didymus († 395), until, at the end of the fourth century, it sank for ever amidst the commotions of the Alexandrian church.

From this school proceeded a peculiar theology, the most learned and genial representatives of which were Clement and Origen. This theology is, on the one hand, a regenerated Christian form of the Alexandrian Jewish religious philosophy of Philo; on the other, a catholic counterpart, and a positive refutation of the heretical Gnosis, which reached its height also in Alexandria, but half a century earlier. The Alexandrian theology aims at a reconciliation of Christianity with philosophy, or, subjectively speaking, of pistis with the gnosis; but it seeks this union upon the basis of the Bible, and the doctrine of the church. Its centre, therefore, is the Logos, viewed as the sum of all reason and all truth, before and after the incarnation. Clement came from the Hellenic philosophy to the Christian faith; Origen, conversely, was led by faith to speculation. The former was an aphoristic thinker, the latter a systematic. The one borrowed ideas from various systems; the other followed more the track

of Platonism. But both are Christian philosophers and churchly gnostics. As Philo, long before them, in the same city, had combined Judaism with Grecian culture, so now they carried the Grecian culture into Christianity. This, indeed, the apologists and controversialists of the second century had already done, as far back as Justin the "philosopher." But the Alexandrians were more learned and liberal-minded, and made much freer use of the Greek philosophy. They saw in it not sheer error, but in one view a gift of God, and a theoretical schoolmaster for Christ, like the law in the practical sphere. Clement compares it to a wild olive tree, which can be ennobled by faith; Origen (in the fragment of an epistle to Gregory Thaumaturgus), to the jewels, which the Israelites took with them out of Egypt, and turned into ornaments for their sanctuary, though they also wrought them into the golden calf. It is not necessarily an enemy to the truth, but may, and should be its handmaid, and at least neutralize the attacks against it. The elements of truth in the heathen philosophy they attributed partly to the secret operation of the Logos in the world of reason, partly to acquaintance with the Jewish philosophy, the writings of Moses and the prophets.

So with the Gnostic heresy. The Alexandrians did not sweepingly condemn it, but recognised the desire for deeper religious knowledge, which lay at its root, and sought to meet this desire with a wholesome supply from the Bible itself. To the *γνῶσις* *ἡθεωρούμενη* they opposed a *γνῶσις ἀληθινή*. Their maxim was, in the words of Clement: "No faith without knowledge, no knowledge without faith;" or: "Unless you believe you will not understand."¹ Faith and knowledge have the same substance, the saving truth of God, revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and faithfully handed down by the church; they differ only in form. Knowledge is our consciousness of the deeper ground and consistency of faith. The Christian knowledge, however, is also a gift of grace, and has its condition in a holy life. The ideal of a Christian gnostic includes the perfect love, as well as the perfect

¹ Is. vii. 9. according to the LXX. 'Εὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνήτε.

knowledge, of God. Clement describes him as one "who, growing grey in the study of the Scriptures, and preserving the orthodoxy of the apostles and the church, lives strictly according to the gospel."

The Alexandrian theology is intellectual, profound, stirring, and full of fruitful germs of thought, but rather unduly idealistic and spiritualistic, and, in exegesis, loses itself in arbitrary allegorical fancies. In its efforts to reconcile revelation and philosophy it took up, like Philo, many foreign elements, especially of the Platonic and Gnostic stamp, and wandered into views, which a later and more orthodox, but more narrow-minded and less productive age condemned as heresies, not appreciating the immortal service of this school to its own and after times.

§ 127. *Clement of Alexandria.*

- I. CLEMENTIS ALEX. Opera omnia Gr. et Lat. ed. POTTER (bishop of Oxford). Oxon. 1715. 2 vols. Reprinted Venet. 1757. 2 vols. (The edition of Klotz, Leipz. 1831-34, in 4 vols., is very incorrect.)
- II. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT: Dissert. de Clem. Alex. Groning. 1826. A. F. DAEHNE: De γνώσει Clem. Al. Hal. 1831. F. R. EYLERT: Clem. v. Alex. als Philosoph und Dichter. Leipz. 1832. Bishop KAYE: Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alex. Lond. 1835. KLING: Die Bedeutung des Clem. Alex. für die Entstehung der Theol. ("Stud. u. Krit." for 1841, No. 4). REINKENS: De Clem. Alex. homine, scriptore, philosopho, theologo. Wratisl. 1851. LAEMMER: Clem. Al. de Logo doctrina. Lips. 1855.

Titus Flavius Clemens¹ sprang either from Athens or from Alexandria, and was brought up in heathenism. He was versed in all branches of Hellenic literature, and in all the existing systems of philosophy; but in these he found nothing to satisfy his thirst for truth. In his adult years, therefore, he embraced the Christian religion, and by long journeys East and West he sought the most distinguished teachers, "who preserved the tradition of pure saving doctrine, and implanted that genuine apos-

¹ Κλήμης.

tolic seed in the hearts of their pupils." He was captivated by Pantaenus in Egypt, who, says he, "like the Sicilian bee, plucked flowers from the apostolic and prophetic meadow, and filled the souls of his disciples with genuine, pure knowledge." He became presbyter in the church of Alexandria, and about A.D. 189 succeeded Pantaenus as president of the catechetical school of that city. Here he labored benignly some twelve years for the conversion of heathens and the education of the Christians, until, as it appears, the persecution under Septimius Severus in 202 compelled him to flee. After this we find him in Antioch, and last (211) with his former pupil, the bishop Alexander, in Jerusalem. Whether he returned thence to Alexandria is unknown. He died before the year 220, about the same time with Tertullian. He never, any more than Origen, was enrolled among the saints of the Roman church, though he frequently bore this title of honor in ancient times.

Clement was the father of the Alexandrian Christian philosophy. He united thorough biblical and Hellenic learning with genius and speculative thought. He rose, in many points, far above the prejudices of his age, to more free and spiritual views. His system, however, is not a unit, but a confused eclectic mixture of true Christian elements, with many foreign Stoic, Platonic, and Philonic ingredients. His writings are full of repetition, and quite lacking in clear, fixed method. He throws out his suggestive and often profound thoughts in fragments, or purposely veils them, especially in the *Stromata*, in a mysterious darkness, to conceal them from the exoteric multitude, and to stimulate the study of the initiated or philosophical Christians. He shows here an affinity with the heathen mystery cultus, and the Gnostic arcana. His extended knowledge of Grecian literature and rich quotations from the lost works of poets, philosophers, and historians, give him importance also in investigations regarding classical antiquity.

The three leading works which he composed during his residence as teacher in Alexandria, between the years 190 and 194, represent the three stages in the discipline of the human race by

the divine Logos, corresponding to the three degrees of knowledge required by the ancient mystagogues,¹ and are related to one another very much as apologetics, ethics, and dogmatics, or as faith, love, and mystic vision, or as the stages of the Christian cultus up to the celebration of the sacramental mysteries. The "Exhortation to the Greeks,"² in three books, with almost a waste of learning, points out the unreasonableness and immorality, but also the nobler prophetic element, of heathenism, and seeks to lead the sinner to repentance and faith. The "Tutor" or "Educator"³ unfolds the Christian morality with constant reference to heathen practices, and exhorts to a holy walk, the end of which is likeness to God. The "Stromata" or "Miscellanies,"⁴ in seven books (the eighth, containing an imperfect treatise on logic, is spurious), furnishes a guide to the deeper knowledge of Christianity, but is without any methodical arrangement, a heterogeneous mixture of curiosities of history, beauties of poetry, reveries of philosophy, Christian truths and heretical errors (hence the name). He compares it to a thick-grown, shady mountain or garden, where fruitful and barren trees of all kinds, the cypress, the laurel, the ivy, the apple, the olive, the fig, stand confusedly grouped together, that many may remain hidden from the eye of the plunderer without escaping the notice of the laborer who might transplant and arrange them in pleasing order. It was, probably, only a prelude to a more comprehensive theology. At the close the author portrays the ideal of the true gnostic, that is, the perfect Christian, assigning to him, among other traits, a stoical elevation above all sensuous affections.

Besides these principal works we have, from Clement also, an able ascetic and yet liberal treatise, on the right use of wealth.⁵

¹ The ἀποκρίθαις, the εὐήσις, and the ἐπόπτεια.

² Λόγος προτροπτικός, Cohortatio.

³ Παιδαγωγός.

⁴ Στοιματεῖς, Stromata, or pieces of tapestry, which, when curiously woven, and in divers colors, present an apt picture of such miscellaneous composition.

⁵ Τὸ ὅτι ζῶντες ἐκ θανάτου, quis dives salvus, or salvetur? an excellent commentary on the words of the Lord in Mk. x. 17 sqq. Comp. § 95.

His exegetical works,¹ as well as a controversial treatise on prophecy, against the Montanists, and another on the passover, against the Judaizing practice in Asia Minor, are all lost, except some inconsiderable fragments.

To Clement we owe also the oldest Christian hymn that has come down to us; an elevated but somewhat turgid song of praise to the Logos, as the divine educator and leader of the human race.²

§ 128. *Origen.*

- I. ORIGENIS Opera omnia Gr. et Lat. ed. CAR. et CAR. VINC. DE LA RUE (Congr. S. Mauri), Par. 1740–59, 4 vols. fol.; new ed. 1857, in 8 vols.; small ed. by LOMMATSCH, Berol. 1831–48. 25 vols. 8vo. Comp. EUSEB. H. E. VI. 1–6 et passim. HIERON.: Cat. c. 54 and Ep. 29, 41. GREGORIUS THAUMAT.: Oratio panegyrica in Origenem. PAMPHILUS: Apologia Orig. (all in the last vol. of De la Rue).
- II. P. D. HUETIUS: Origeniana, Par. 1679, 2 vols. (also in De la Rue, vol. 4). G. THOMASIUS: Origines, Nürnberg. 1837. R. REDEPENNING: Origines. Sein Leben u. seine Lehre. Bonn, 1841, 2 vols.

Origen, surnamed Adamantius,³ for his iron industry and perhaps also his pure and firm character, was born of Christian parents at Alexandria, in the year 185, and baptized in childhood. Under the direction of his father, Leonides, who was probably a rhetorician, and of the celebrated Clement at the catechetical school, he received a pious and learned education. While yet a boy, he knew whole sections of the Bible by memory, and not rarely perplexed his father with questions on the deeper sense of Scripture. The father reproved his curiosity, but thanked God for such a son, and often, as he slept, reverentially kissed his breast as a temple of the Holy Ghost. Under

¹ Ὑποτυπώσεις, Adumbrationes, Outlines, or a condensed survey of the contents of the Old and New Testament Scriptures.

² In the Paedag. III. 12 (p. 311 ed. Pott.; also in Daniel's Thesaurus hymnologicus III. p. 5). It has been often translated into German, by Münter (in Rambach's Anthologie christl. Gesänge I. p. 35); Dorner (Christologie I. 293); Fortlage (Gesänge christl. Vorzeit. 1844, p. 38); and in rhyme by Hagenbach (Die K. G. der 3 ersten Jahrb. p. 222 sq.). An English translation may be found in the anonymous book: The Voice of Christian Life in Song. N. York, 1858, p. 44 sq.

³ Ἀδαμάντιος, Χαλκέντερος.

the persecution of Septimius Severus in 202, he wrote to his father in prison, beseeching him not to deny Christ for the sake of his family, and strongly desired to give himself up to the heathen authorities, but was prevented by his mother, who hid his clothes. Leonides died a martyr, and, as his property was confiscated, he left a helpless widow with seven children. Origen was for a time assisted by a wealthy matron, and then supported himself by giving instruction in the Greek language and literature, and by copying manuscripts.

In the year 203, though then only eighteen years of age, he was nominated by the bishop Demetrius, afterwards his opponent, president of the catechetical school of Alexandria, left vacant by the flight of Clement. To fill this important office, he made himself acquainted with the various heresies, especially the Gnostic, and with the Grecian philosophy; he was not even ashamed to study under the heathen Ammonius Saccas, the celebrated founder of Neo-Platonism. He learned also the Hebrew language, and made journeys to Rome (211), Arabia, Palestine (215), and Greece. After a time he gave the lower classes into the charge of his pupil Heraclas, and devoted himself wholly to the more advanced students. He was successful in bringing many eminent heathens and heretics to the catholic church; among them a wealthy Gnostic, Ambrosius, who became his most liberal patron, furnishing him a costly library for his biblical studies, seven stenographers, and a number of copyists (some of whom were young Christian women), the former to note down his dictations, the latter to engross them. His fame spread far and wide over Egypt. Julia Mammæa, mother of the Emperor Alexander Severus, brought him to Antioch in 218, to learn from him the doctrines of Christianity. An Arabian prince honored him with a visit for the same purpose.

His mode of life during the whole period was strictly ascetic. He made it a matter of principle to renounce every earthly thing not indispensably necessary. He refused the gifts of his pupils, and in literal obedience to the Saviour's injunction he had but

one coat, no shoes, and took no thought of the morrow. He rarely ate flesh, never drank wine; devoted the greater part of the night to prayer and study, and slept on the bare floor. Nay, in his youthful zeal for ascetic holiness, he even committed the act of self-emasculation, partly to fulfil literally the mysterious words of Christ, in Matt. xix. 12, for the sake of the kingdom of God, partly to secure himself against all temptation and calumny, which might arise from his intercourse with many female catechumens.¹ By this inconsiderate and misdirected heroism, which he himself repented in his riper years, he incapacitated himself, according to the canons of the church, for the clerical office. Nevertheless, a long time afterwards, in 228, he was ordained presbyter by two friendly bishops, Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Caesarea in Palestine, who had, even before this, on a former visit of his, invited him while a layman, to teach publicly in their churches and to expound the Scriptures to their people.

But this foreign ordination itself, and the growing reputation of Origen among heathens and Christians, stirred the jealousy of the bishop Demetrius of Alexandria, who charged him besides, and that not wholly without foundation, with corrupting Christianity by foreign speculations. This bishop held two councils, A.D. 231 and 232, against the great theologian, and enacted, that he, for his false doctrine, his self-mutilation, and his violation of the church laws, be deposed from his offices of presbyter and catechist, and excommunicated. This unrighteous sentence, in which envy, hierarchical arrogance, and zeal for orthodoxy joined, was communicated, as the custom was, to other churches. The Roman church, always ready to anathematize, concurred without further investigation, while the churches of Palestine, Arabia, Phenicia, and Achaia, which were better informed, decidedly disapproved it.

In this controversy Origen showed a genuine Christian meek-

¹ This fact rests on the testimony of Eusebius (vi. 8), who was very well informed respecting Origen; and it has been defended by Engelhardt, Redepenning, and Neander, against the unfounded doubts of Baur and Schnitzer.

ness. "We must pity them," said he of his enemies, "rather than hate them; pray for them, rather than curse them; for we are made for blessing, and not for cursing." He betook himself to his friend, the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, prosecuted his studies there, opened a new philosophical and theological school, which soon outshone that of Alexandria, and labored for the spread of the kingdom of God. The persecution under Maximinus (235) drove him for a time to Cappadocia. Thence he went to Greece, and then back to Palestine. He was called into consultation in various ecclesiastical disputes, and had an extensive correspondence, in which were included even the emperor Philip the Arabian and his wife. Though thrust out as a heretic from his home, he reclaimed the erring in foreign lands to the faith of the church. At an Arabian council, for example, he convinced the bishop Beryllus of his christological error, and persuaded him to retract (A.D. 244).

At last he received an honorable invitation to return to Alexandria, where, meantime, his pupil Dionysius had become bishop. But in the Decian persecution he was cast into prison, cruelly tortured, and condemned to the stake; and though he regained his liberty by the death of the emperor, yet he died some time after, at the age of sixty-nine, in the year 253 or 254, at Tyre, probably in consequence of that violence. He belongs, therefore, at least among the confessors, if not among the martyrs.

It is impossible to deny a respectful sympathy to this extraordinary man, who, with all his brilliant talents and a host of enthusiastic friends and admirers, was driven from his country, stripped of his sacred office, excommunicated from a part of the church, then thrown into a dungeon, loaded with chains, racked by torture, doomed to drag his aged frame and dislocated limbs in pain and poverty, and long after his death to have his memory branded his name anathematized, and his salvation denied; but who nevertheless did more than all his enemies combined to advance the cause of sacred learning, to refute and convert heathens and heretics, and to make the church respected in the eyes of the world.

Origen was the greatest scholar of his age, and the most learned and genial of all the ante-Nicene fathers. Even heathens and heretics admired or feared his brilliant talents. His knowledge embraced all departments of the philology, philosophy, and theology of his day. With this he united profound and fertile thought, keen penetration, and glowing imagination. As a true divine, he consecrated all his studies by prayer, and turned them, according to his best convictions, to the service of truth and piety.

He may be called in many respects the Schleiermacher of the Greek church. He was a guide from the heathen philosophy and the heretical Gnosis to the Christian faith. He exerted an immeasurable influence in stimulating the development of the catholic theology and forming the great Nicene fathers, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Hilary, and Ambrose, who consequently, in spite of all his deviations, set great value on his services. But his best disciples proved unfaithful to many of his most peculiar views, and adhered far more to the reigning faith of the church. For—and in this too he is like Schleiermacher—he can by no means be called orthodox, either in the Catholic or in the Protestant sense. His leaning to idealism, his predilection for Plato, and his noble effort to reconcile Christianity with reason, and to commend it even to educated heathens and Gnostics, led him into many grand and fascinating errors. Among these are his extremely ascetic and almost docetic conception of corporeity, his doctrine of the pre-existence and the pre-temporal fall of souls, of eternal creation, of the extension of the work of redemption to the inhabitants of the stars and to all creatures, and of the final restoration of all men and angels, including Satan himself. Also in regard to the dogma of the divinity of Christ, though he powerfully supported it, and was the first to teach expressly the eternal generation of the Son, yet he may be almost as justly considered a forerunner of the Arian heterousion, or at least of the semi-Arian homoi-ousion, as of the Athanasian homoousian.

These and similar views provoked more or less contradiction

during his lifetime, and were afterwards, at a local council in Constantinople in 544,¹ even solemnly condemned as heretical. But such a man might in such an age hold heretical opinions without being a heretic. For Origen propounded his views always with modesty and from sincere conviction of their agreement with Scripture, and that in a time when the church doctrine was as yet very indefinite in many points. For this reason even unprejudiced Roman divines, such as Tillemont and Möhler, have shown Origen the greatest respect and leniency; a fact the more to be commended, since the Roman church has refused him, as well as Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, a place among the saints and the fathers in the stricter sense.

Origen's greatest service was in exegesis. He is father of the scientific and critical investigation of Scripture, though his doctrine of a threefold sense is untenable, and his allegorical exposition often degenerates into the merest caprice,² or gives way at times to the opposite extreme of a carnal literalism, by which he justifies his ascetic extravagance. Gregory Thaumaturgus says, he had "received from God the greatest gift, to be an interpreter of the word of God to men." For that age this judgment is perfectly just. Origen remained the exegetical oracle until Chrysostom far surpassed him, not indeed in vigor of mind and extent of learning, but in sound, sober tact, in simple grammatical and historical analysis, and in practical application of the text.

Origen was an uncommonly prolific author, but by no means an idle bookmaker. Jerome says, he wrote more than other men can read. Epiphanius, an opponent, states the number of his works as six thousand, which is perhaps not much beyond the mark, if we include all his short tracts, homilies, and letters, and count them as separate volumes. Many of them arose without his coöperation, and sometimes against his will, from the writing down of his oral lectures by others. Of his books

¹ Not at the fifth ecumenical council of 553, as has been often, through confusion, asserted.

² Comp. § 75.

which remain, some have come down to us only in Latin translations, and with many alterations in favor of the later orthodoxy. They extend to all branches of the theology of that day.

1. His biblical works were the most numerous, and may be divided into critical, exegetical, and hortatory.

Among the critical were the Hexapla¹ and the shorter Tetrapla, on which he spent eight-and-twenty years of the most unwearied labor. The Hexapla was the first polyglott bible, but covered only the Old Testament, and was designed not for the critical restoration of the original text, but merely for the improvement of the received Septuagint, and the defence of it against the charge of inaccuracy. It contained, in six columns, the original text in two forms, in Hebrew and in Greek characters, and the four Greek versions of the Septuagint, of Aquila, of Symmachus, and of Theodotion. To these he added, in several books, two or three other anonymous versions.² The departures from the standard he marked with the critical signs asterisk (⋈) and obelos (◊). The voluminous work was placed in the library at Caesarea, was still much used in the time of Jerome, but doubtless never transcribed, except in certain portions, most frequently the Septuagint columns (which were copied, for instance, by Pamphilus and Eusebius), and was probably destroyed by the Saracens in 653. We possess, therefore, only some fragments of it, the most complete collection of which is that of Montfaucon, in two volumes, published in 1714.

His commentaries covered almost all the books of the Old and New Testaments, and contained a vast wealth of profound suggestions, with the most arbitrary allegorical and mystic fancies. They were of three kinds:—(a) Short notes on single difficult passages for beginners;³ all these are lost. (b) Extended expositions of whole books, for higher scientific study;⁴ of these

¹ Τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ.

² Hence also the name τὰ ὀκταπλᾶ, Octapla (but never Enneapla), when the quinta, sexta, and septima are included. The Tetrapla contains only the four Greek versions mentioned, without the original Hebrew.

³ Σημειώσεις, scholia.

⁴ Τόμοι, commentarii.

we have a number in the original. (c) Hortatory or practical applications of Scripture for the congregation;¹ which are important also to the history of pulpit oratory. But we have them only in part, as translated by Jerome and Rufinus, with many unscrupulous retrenchments and additions, which perplex and are apt to mislead investigators.

2. Apologetic and polemic works. The refutation of Celsus against Christianity,² in eight books, written in the last years of his life, about 249, is preserved complete in the original, and is one of the ripest and most valuable productions of Origen, and of the whole ancient apologetic literature. His numerous polemic writings against heretics are all gone.

3. Of his dogmatic writings we have, though only in the inaccurate Latin translation of Rufinus,³ his juvenile production, *De principiis*,⁴ on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, in four books. This was the first attempt at a complete dogmatic, but full of the author's peculiar Platonizing and Gnosticizing errors, some of which he retracted in his riper years. In this work Origen treats, first, of God; in the second book of creation and the incarnation; in the third of freedom, which he very strongly sets forth and defends against the Gnostics; in the fourth, of the Holy Scriptures, their inspiration and authority, and the interpretation of them; concluding with a recapitulation of the doctrine of the trinity.

4. Among his practical works may be mentioned a treatise on prayer, with an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and exhortation to martyrdom, written during the persecution of Maximin.

5. Of his letters, of which Eusebius collected over eight hundred, we have, besides a few fragments, only an answer to Julius Africanus on the authenticity of the history of Susanna.

Among the works of Origen is also usually inserted the "Phi-

¹ *Ὁμιλται*.

² Comp. § 60.

³ He himself confesses that he altered or omitted several pages, pretending that it had been more corrupted by heretics than any other work of Origen. Tillemont well remarks that Rufinus might have spared himself the trouble of alteration, as we care much less about his views than those of the original.

⁴ *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

localia," or a collection of extracts from his writings on various exegetical questions, made by Gregory Nazianzen and Basil the Great.

§ 129. *The other Greek Theologians of the Third Century.*

1. Disciples of Origen. Most of the Greek fathers of the third and fourth centuries stood more or less under the influence of the spirit and the works of this great divine, without adopting all his peculiar speculative views.

HERACLAS of Alexandria was first a pupil of Origen, then his assistant and successor in the catechetical school, and after 233 bishop of Alexandria. He died in 248. He also studied the Neo-Platonic philosophy under Ammonius Saccas.

DIONYSIUS of Alexandria, surnamed "the Great," originally a heathen rhetorician, was won to the faith by Origen, became catechist in the year 233, and bishop of Alexandria in 248, and died in 265. He labored zealously for the conversion of heretics, and to aid himself studied their writings. He took active part in the christological, chiliastic, and disciplinary controversies of his time, showing in them little independence and consistency, but moderation, an amiable spirit of concession, and practical churchly tact. Of his numerous writings Eusebius and Athanasius have preserved valuable fragments.

His successors in the catechetical school, PIERIUS (called "the younger Origen") and THEOGNOSTUS (after 282?), stood likewise in high repute in their day as scholars and authors.

GREGORY, surnamed Thaumaturgus, "the wonder-worker," was converted from heathenism in his youth by Origen at Caesarea, spent eight years in his society, and then, after a season of contemplative retreat, labored as bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus from 244 to 270 with extraordinary success. He could boast on his death-bed, that he had left to his successor no more unbelievers in his diocese, than he had found Christians in it at his accession; and those were only seventeen. Later story has made him a "second Moses," and attributed great miracles to

him. But these are not mentioned till a century after his time, by Gregory of Nyssa and Basil. Eusebius knows nothing of them, nor of the trinitarian creed, which is said to have been communicated to him in a vision by St. John at the request of the Virgin Mary. We have from him a glowing eulogy on his beloved teacher Origen, which ranks as a masterpiece of Grecian eloquence; also a simple paraphrase of the book of Ecclesiastes.

PAMPHILUS, a presbyter of Caesarea in Palestine and teacher in the theological school founded by him there, who died a martyr in 309, did great service with his careful transcript of the Septuagint from the Hexapla of Origen, his gratuitous distribution of the Bible, and the collection of a large theological library, whence Eusebius, Jerome, and many others drew or increased their learning. He wrote in prison a defence of Origen, which his disciple and intimate friend Eusebius completed. But we have only the first of its six books.

HIERACAS (Hierax), from Leontopolis in Egypt, towards the end of the third century, belongs only in the wider sense to the school of Origen, and perhaps had no connexion with it at all. Epiphanius reckons him among the Manichæan heretics. He was, at all events, a perfectly original phenomenon, distinguished for his varied learning, allegorical exegesis, poetical talent, and still more for his eccentric asceticism. He is said to have denied the historical reality of the fall and the resurrection of the body, and to have declared celibacy the only sure way to salvation.

2. Kindred theologians.

JULIUS AFRICANUS, an older friend of Origen, who probably sprang from Asia Minor, but labored in Palestine, and died in 232, deserves honorable mention as the first Christian chronographer and the forerunner of Eusebius, who has made copious use of his learned labor. The fragments of his chronography in five books, which commenced with the creation and came down to the year 221, are collected by Gallandi and Routh.

The Antiochan presbyters DOROTHEUS († about 290) and LUCIAN († a martyr in 311) may have received their first scientific impulse from the works of Origen, but founded a new theo-

gical school at Antioch, which afterwards became the seat of an independent, literal, grammatico-historical treatment of scripture, and formed a beneficial offset to the unlimited allegorizing of the Alexandrians. This school produced Chrysostom and Theodoret; but from the same school proceeded also Arius and Nestorius. Lucian prepared a careful critical edition of the Septuagint, and perhaps also of the New Testament.—By a similar labor the Egyptian bishop HESYCHIUS made himself known in the same period.

3. Opponents of Origen.

The opposition of Demetrius proceeded chiefly from personal feeling, and had no theological significance. Yet it made a pretext at least of zeal for orthodoxy, and in subsequent opponents this motive took the principal place. This was the case, so early as the third century, with

METHODIUS, bishop of Tyre, who died a martyr in 311, or earlier. He was not speculative enough to appreciate the system of Origen, and was not always consistent, it would seem, in his opposition to it. But he exposed its errors in the doctrine of the creation and of the resurrection of the body, with considerable learning and discernment. He also wrote an eloquent, but verbose, extravagant, and somewhat indelicate eulogy on the advantages of virginity, in the Platonic dialogue form.¹ We have fragments of this “Banquet of Virgins” in Epiphanius and Photius. Eusebius, probably from party prejudice, which ill becomes a historian, passes over him in silence.

§ 130. *Tertullian and the African School.*

1. TERTULLIANI quae supersunt omnia. Ed. FRANC. OEHLER. Lips. 1853, 3 vols. Earlier editions by *Beatus Rhenanus*, Bas. 1521; *Pamelius*, Antwerp, 1579; *Rigaltius* (Rigault), Par. 1634 and Venet. 1744; *Semler*, Halle, 1770–73. 6 vols.; *Oberthür*, 1780; *Leopold*, in Gersdorf's Biblioth. patrum eccles. Latinorum selecta (IV–VII.), Lips. 1839–41; and *Migne*, Par. 1844. Tert's *Apology* has often been separately edited and translated into modern languages.

2. NEANDER: Antignosticus, Geist des Tertullianus u. Einleitung in dessen

¹ Συμπόσιον τῶν δέκα παρθένων; Convivium decem virginum

Schriften. Berl. 1825, 2d ed. 1849. HESSELBERG: Tertullian. Dorpat, 1848. 2 pts. J. KAYE: Eccles. Hist. of the second and third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian. 3d ed. Lond. 1845. A number of special treatises by Hefele, Engelhardt, Leopold, Uhlhorn, &c. Comp. also the works on Montanism, § 97.

The Western church in this period exhibits no such scientific productiveness as the Eastern. If we leave out of view Clement of Rome, Hermas, and Irenaeus, who belong by education to the Greek church and wrote only in Greek, her literary career does not begin till the end of the second century, and then, very characteristically, not with a converted philosopher, but with two vigorous practical lawyers and rhetoricians. It does not gradually unfold itself, but appears at once under a fixed, clear stamp, with a strong realistic tendency.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus is the father of the Latin theology and church language, and one of the greatest men of Christian antiquity. He was born about the year 160, at Carthage, the ancient rival of Rome, where his father was serving as captain of a Roman legion under the proconsul of Africa. He received a liberal Graeco-Roman secular education; his writings manifest an extensive acquaintance with historical, philosophical, polite, and antiquarian literature, and with juridical terminology and all the arts of an advocate. He seems to have devoted himself to politics and forensic eloquence, either in Carthage or in Rome. Eusebius calls him "a man accurately acquainted with the Roman laws,"¹ and many regard him as identical with the Tertyllus, or Tertullianus, who is the author of several fragments in the Pandects.

To his thirtieth or fortieth year he lived in heathen blindness and licentiousness.² Towards the end of the second century he embraced Christianity, we know not exactly on what occasion, but evidently from deepest conviction, and with all the fiery energy of his soul; defended it thenceforth with fearless decision

¹ H. E. II. 2.

De resurr. carn. c. 59, he confesses: *Ego me scio neque alia carne adulteria commisisse, neque nunc alia carne ad continentiam veni.* Comp. also Apolog. c. 13 and 25. De anima, c. 2. De poenit. c. 4 and 12. Ad Scapul. c. 5.

against heathens, Jews, and heretics; and studied the strictest morality of life. His own words may be applied to himself. "Fiant, non nascuntur Christiani." He was married, and gives us a glowing picture of Christian family life, to which we have before referred; but in his zeal for every form of self-denial, he set celibacy still higher, and advised his wife, in case he should die before her, to remain a widow, or, at least, never to marry an unbelieving husband; and he afterwards put second marriage even on a level with adultery. He entered the ministry of the Catholic church,¹ first probably in Carthage, perhaps in Rome, where at all events he spent some time;² but, like Clement of Alexandria and Origen, he never rose above the rank of presbyter.

Some years after (about 202), he joined the puritanic, though orthodox, sect of the Montanists. Jerome attributes this change to personal motives, charging it to the envy and insults of the Roman clergy, from whom he himself experienced many an indignity.³ But Tertullian was inclined to extremes from the first, especially to moral austerity. He was no doubt attracted by the radical contempt for the world, the strict asceticism, the severe discipline, the martyr enthusiasm, and the chiliasm of the Montanists, and repelled by the growing conformity to the world in the Roman church. This church, we now accurately know from the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus, just at that period, under Zephyrinus and Callistus, openly took under its protection a very lax penitential discipline, and at the same time, though only temporarily, favored the Patripassian error, which Praxeas, an opponent of the Montanists, brought to Rome. Of this man Tertullian therefore says, in his sarcastic way: He has executed in Rome two works of the devil; has driven out prophecy (the Montanistic) and brought in error (the Patripassian);

¹ This fact, however, rests only on the authority of Jerome, and does not appear from Tertullian's own writings.

² *De cultu femin.* c. 7. Comp. Euseb. II. 2.

³ *De vir. illustr.* c. 53: Hic (Tert.) cum usque ad mediam aetatem presbyter ecclesiae permansisset, invidia et contumeliis clericorum Romanae ecclesiae ad Montani dogma delapsus in multis libris novae prophetiae meminit.

has turned off the Holy Ghost and crucified the Father.¹ Tertullian now fought the catholics, or the psychicals, as he frequently calls them, with the same inexorable sternness with which he had combated the heretics. The departures of the Montanists, however, related more to points of morality and discipline than of doctrine; and with all his hostility to Rome, Tertullian remained a zealous advocate of the catholic faith, and wrote, even from his schismatic position, several of his most effective works against the heretics, especially the Gnostics. Indeed, as a divine, he stood far above this fanatical sect, and gave it by his writings an importance and an influence on the church itself which it certainly would never otherwise have attained.

He labored in Carthage as a Montanist presbyter and an author, and died, as Jerome says, in decrepit old age, according to some about the year 220, according to others not till 240; for the exact time, as well as the manner of his death, are unknown. His followers in Africa propagated themselves, under the name of "Tertullianists," down to the time of Augustine in the fifth century, and took perhaps a middle place between the proper Montanists and the catholic church. That he ever returned into the bosom of catholicism, as Hippolytus, according to the later story of Prudentius, did, is an entirely groundless opinion. Nor has the Roman church ever received him into the number of her saints and fathers.

Strange that this most powerful defender of old catholic orthodoxy and the teacher of the high-churchly Cyprian, should have been a schismatic and an antagonist of Rome. But with the Roman spirit he united in his constitution the acerbity of the Punic character. The same bold independence played in him, in which his native city Carthage once resisted, through more than a hundred years' war,² the rising power of the seven-hilled city on the Tiber. But in this he truly represents the African church, in which a similar antagonism continued to reveal itself, not only among the Donatists, but even among the leading

¹ Adv. Prax. c. 1.

² B.C. 264-146.

advocates of Catholicism. Cyprian died at variance with Rome on the question of heretical baptism; and Augustine, with all his great services to the catholic system of faith, became at the same time, through his anti-Pelagian doctrine, the father of evangelical Protestantism and of semi-Protestant Jansenism.

Tertullian was a rare genius, perfectly original and fresh, but angular, boisterous, and eccentric; full of glowing fantasy, pointed wit, keen discernment, polemic dexterity, and moral earnestness, but wanting in logical clearness, calm consideration, and symmetrical development. His vehement temper was never fully subdued, although he struggled sincerely against it.¹ Like almost all great men, he combined strong contrarieties of character. He reminds one, in many respects, of Luther; though the reformer had nothing of the ascetic gloom and rigor of the African father, and exhibits instead, with all his gigantic energy, a kindly serenity and childlike simplicity altogether foreign to the latter. Tertullian dwells enthusiastically on the divine foolishness of the gospel, and has a noble contempt for the world, for its science and its art, and for his own; and yet are his writings a mine of antiquarian knowledge, and novel, striking, and fruitful ideas. He calls the Grecian philosophers the patriarchs of all heresies, and scornfully asks: "What has the academy to do with the church? what has Christ to do with Plato—Jerusalem with Athens?" And yet reason does him invaluable service against his antagonists. He vindicates the principle of church authority and tradition with great force and ingenuity against all heresy; yet, when a Montanist, he claims for himself with equal energy the right of private judgment and of individual protest. He has a vivid sense of the corruption of human nature and of the absolute need of moral regeneration; yet he declares the soul to be born Christian, and unable to find rest except in faith. "The testimonies of the soul," says he, "are as true as they are simple; as simple as they are popular; as popular as they are natural; as natural as they are divine."

¹ Comp. his own painful confession in *De patient.* c. 1: *Miserrimus ego semper aeger caloribus impatientiae.*

He is just the opposite of the equally genial, less vigorous, but more learned and comprehensive Origen. He adopts the strictest supranatural principles, and shrinks not from the "credo quia absurdum est." At the same time he is a most decided realist, and attributes body, that is, as it were, a corporeal, tangible substantiality, even to God and to the soul; while the idealistic Alexandrian cannot speak spiritually enough of God, and can conceive the human soul without and before the existence of body. Tertullian's theology revolves about the great Pauline antithesis of sin and grace, and breaks the road to the Latin anthropology and soteriology afterwards developed by his like-minded, but clearer, calmer, and more considerate countryman, Augustine. For his opponents, be they heathens, Jews, heretics, or catholics, he has as little indulgence and regard as Luther. With the adroitness of a special pleader he entangles them in self-contradictions, pursues them into every nook and corner, overwhelms them with arguments, sophisms, apophthegms, and sarcasms, drives them before him with unmerciful lashings, and almost always makes them ridiculous and contemptible. His polemics everywhere leave marks of blood.

His style is exceedingly characteristic, and corresponds with his thought. It is extremely condensed, abrupt, laconic, sententious, nervous, figurative, full of hyperbole, sudden turns, legal technicalities, African provincialisms, or rather¹ antiquated Latinisms, Latinized Greek words, and new expressions; therefore abounding also in roughnesses, angles, and obscurities; sometimes like a grand volcanic eruption, belching precious stones and dross in strange confusion; or like the foaming torrent tumbling over the precipice of rocks and sweeping all before it. His mighty spirit wrestles with the form, and breaks its way through the primeval forest of nature's thinking. He had to create the church language of the Latin tongue.

In short, we see in this remarkable man, both intellectually and

¹ According to Niebuhr, a most competent judge of Latin antiquities. Comp. also what Rulnken says of Tertullian's style in *Præfatio ad Schelleri Lexic.* and Bishop Kaye, l. c. p. 67 (in Oehler, III. 720).

morally, the fermenting of a new creation, not yet quite set free from the bonds of chaotic darkness, and brought into clear and beautiful order.

The writings of Tertullian are mostly short; but they are numerous and touch almost all departments of religious life. They present a graphic picture of the church of his day. The earlier ones, which were written in Greek, are entirely lost, or extant only in Latin reproductions. Most of his works, according to internal evidence, fall in the first quarter of the third century, in the Montanistic period of his life; and among these many of his ablest writings against the heretics; while, on the other hand, the gloomy moral austerity, which predisposed him to Montanism, comes out quite strongly even in his earliest productions.

His works may be grouped in three classes: apologetic; polemic or anti-heretical; and ethic or practical; to which may be added as a fourth class the expressly Montanistic tracts against the catholics. We can here only mention the most important:¹

1. Pre-eminent among the apologetic works against heathens and Jews is the *Apologeticus*, which was composed probably in the reign of Septimius Severus, about A.D. 200, and is unquestionably one of the most beautiful monuments of the heroic age of Christianity. In this work Tertullian enthusiastically and

¹ The chronological order of Tertullian's works can be only proximately fixed. Bishop Kaye divides them into four classes, according to their relation to Montanism (comp. Oehler: *Tertull. Opera*, III., p. 717):

(a) Those which probably belong to the author's catholic period; viz.: *De poenitentia*; *De oratione*; *De baptismo*; *Ad uxorem*; *Ad martyras*, or *martyres*; *De patientia*; *Adv. Judaeos*; *De praescriptione haereticorum*.

(b) Those which were certainly not composed till after his transition to Montanism; viz.: *Adv. Marcionem* (5 libri); *De anima*; *De carne Christi*; *De resurrectione carnis*; *Adv. Praxean*; *Scorpiace* (i.e. antidote against the poison of the Gnostic heresy); *De corona militis*; *De virginibus velandis*; *De exhortatione castitatis*; *De fuga in persecutione*; *De monogamia*; *De jejuniis*; *De pudicitia*.

(c) Those which probably belong to the Montanistic period; viz.: *Adv. Valentinianos*; *Ad Scapulam*; *De spectaculis*; *De idololatria*; *De cultu feminarum* (2 libri).

(d) Those of which it cannot be certainly decided whether they are catholic or Montanistic; viz.: *Apologeticus* (probably of the catholic period); *Ad nationes*; *De testimonio animae*; *De pallio* (probably Montanistic); *Adv. Hermogenem*.

triumphantly repels the attacks of the heathens upon the new religion, and demands for it legal toleration and equal rights with the other sects of the Roman empire;—the first plea for religious liberty.

2. His polemic works are occupied chiefly with the refutation of the Gnostics, particularly of Marcion (A.D. 208) and the Valentinians. In the ingenious and truly catholic tract, "On the Prescription of Heretics,"¹ he cuts off all errors and neologies at the outset from all right of legal contest and appeal to the holy scriptures, which belong only to the catholic church as the legitimate heir and guardian of Christianity. This forensic argument, however, turns also against Tertullian's own secession; for the difference between heretics and schismatics is really only relative, at least in Cyprian's view. Tertullian afterwards asserted, in contradiction with this book, that in religious matters not custom nor long possession, but truth alone, was to be consulted. The works "On Baptism," "On the Soul," "On the Flesh of Christ," "On the Resurrection of the Flesh," "Against Hermogenes," "Against Praxeas," are concerned with particular errors, and are important to the doctrine of baptism, to Christian psychology, to eschatology and christology.

3. His numerous practical or ascetic treatises throw much light on the moral life of the early church, as contrasted with the immorality of the heathen world. Among these belong the books "On Prayer," "On Penance," "On Patience,"—a virtue, which he extols with honest confession of his own natural impatience and passionate temper, and which he urges upon himself as well as others,—the consolation of the confessors in prison (*Ad martyres*), and the admonition against visiting theatres (*De spectaculis*), which he classes with the pomp of the devil, and against all share, direct or indirect, in the worship of idols (*De idololatria*).

4. His strictly Montanistic or anti-catholic writings, in which the peculiarities of this sect are not only incidentally touched, as

¹ *Praescriptio*, in legal terminology, means an exception made before the merits of a case are discussed, showing in limine that the plaintiff ought not to be heard.

in many of the works named above, but vindicated expressly and at large, are likewise of a practical nature, and contend, in fanatical rigor, against the restoration of the lapsed (*De pudicitia*), flight in persecutions, second marriage (*De monogamia*, and *De exhortatione castitatis*), display of dress in females (*De cultu feminarum*), and other customs of the psychicals, as he commonly calls the catholics in distinction from the sectarian pneumatics. His plea, also, for excessive fasting (*De jejuniis*), and his justification of a Christian soldier, who was discharged for refusing to crown his head (*De corona militis*), belong here. Tertullian considers it unbecoming the followers of Christ, who, when on earth, wore a crown of thorns for us, to adorn their heads with laurel, myrtle, olive, or with flowers or gems. We may imagine what he would have said to the tiara of the pope in his mediaeval splendor.

§ 131. *Cyprian.*

- I. S. CYPRIANI Opera omnia, recogn. et illustr. per Jo. FELL (bishop of Oxford). Oxon. 1682. Amstel. 1700; and often. Other editions by ERASMUS, Bas. 1520; MANUTIUS, Rome, 1563; RIGALTIIUS, Par. 1648; particularly the BENEDICTINE edition, begun by BALUZIUS and completed by PRUD. MARANUS, Par. 1726, reprinted at Venice, 1758; and the convenient manual ed. of GOLDHORN, Leipz. 1838 sq. (in Gersdorf's *Bibl. Patr. Lat. P. II. & III.*).
- II. J. PEARSON: *Annales Cyprianici*, Oxon. 1682; and H. DODWELL: *Dissertationes Cyprianicae*, Oxon. 1684; Amst. 1700 (both in the edd. of Fell). F. W. RETTBERG: *Cyprianus nach seinem Leben u. Wirken*. Gött. 1831. G. A. POOLE: *Life and Times of Cyprian*. Oxf. 1840. J. W. NEVIN: *Cyprian*; four arts. in the "*Mercersburg Review*" for 1852 (comp. VARIEN: *Nevin on Cyprian*; in the same, 1853, p. 555 sqq.).

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, bishop and martyr, and the impersonation of the catholic church of the middle of the third century, sprang from a wealthy and noble heathen family of Carthage, where he was born about the year 200. His deacon and biographer, Pontius, considers his earlier life not worthy of notice in comparison with his subsequent greatness in the church. Jerome tells us, that he stood in high repute as a teacher of

rhetoric.¹ He was, at all events, a man of commanding literary, rhetorical, and legal culture, and of eminent administrative ability, which afterwards proved of great service to him in the episcopal office. He lived in worldly splendor to mature age, nor was he free from the common vices of heathenism, as we must infer from his own confessions. But the story, that he practised arts of magic, arises perhaps from some confusion, and is at any rate unattested. Yet, after he became a Christian, he believed, like Tertullian and others, in visions and dreams, and had some only a short time before his martyrdom.

A worthy presbyter, Caecilius, who lived in Cyprian's house, and afterwards at his death committed his wife and children to him, first made him acquainted with the doctrines of the Christian religion and moved him to read the Bible. After long resistance Cyprian forsook the world, entered the class of catechumens, sold his estates for the benefit of the poor,² took a vow of chastity, and in 245 or 246 received baptism, adopting, out of gratitude to his spiritual father, the name of Caecilius.

He himself, in a tract soon afterwards written to a friend,³ gives us the following oratorical description of his conversion: "While I languished in darkness and deep night, and tossing and doubtful upon the sea of a troubled world, I floated about in wandering ways, ignorant of my destination, and far from truth and light, I thought it, according to my then habits, altogether a difficult and hard thing, which the indulgence of God promised me for salvation, that a man could be born anew, and that, being quickened to new life by the bath of saving water, he might put off the past, and, while preserving the identity of the body, might transform the man in mind and heart. How, said I, is such a change possible? How can one at once divest himself of all that

¹ Catal. c. 67: Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit.

² Pontius, in his *Vita*, a very unsatisfactory sketch, prefixed to the editions of the works of Cyprian, places this act of renunciation (Matt. xix. 21) before his baptism, "inter fidei prima rudimenta." Cyprian's gardens, however, together with a villa, were afterwards restored to him, "Dei indulgentia," that is, very probably, through the liberality of his Christian friends.

³ De gratia Dei, ad Donatum, c. 3, 4.

was either innate or acquired and grown upon him? . . . Whence does he learn frugality, who was accustomed to sumptuous feasts? And how shall he who shone in costly apparel, in gold and purple, come down to common and simple dress? He who has lived in honor and station, cannot bear to be private and obscure. . . . But when, by the aid of the regenerating water,¹ the stain of my former life was washed away, a serene and pure light poured from above into my purified breast. So soon as I drank the spirit from above, and was transformed by a second birth into a new man, then the wavering mind became wonderfully firm; what had been closed opened; the dark became light; strength came for that which had seemed difficult; what I had thought impossible became practicable; it could be seen, that had been earthly, which was formerly born of the flesh and lived at the service of sin, and that that was of God, which now the Holy Spirit animated."

Cyprian now devoted himself zealously, in ascetic retirement, to the study of the scriptures and the church teachers, especially Tertullian, whom he called for daily with the words: "Give me the master!"² The influence of Tertullian on his theological formation is unmistakable, and appears at once, for example, on comparing the tracts of the two on prayer and on patience, or the work of the one on the vanity of idols with the apology of the other. It is therefore rather strange that in his own writings we find no acknowledgment of his indebtedness, and, as far as I recollect, no express allusion whatever to Tertullian and the Montanists.

Such a man could not long remain concealed. Only two years after his baptism, spite of his earnest remonstrance, Cyprian was raised to the bishopric of Carthage by the acclamations of the people, and was thus at the same time placed at the head of the whole North African clergy. This election of a neophyte was

¹ "*Undæ genitalis auxilio*," which refers of course to baptism.

² "*Da magistrum!*" So Jerome relates, *Cat. c. 53*, on the testimony of an old man, who had heard it in his youth from the "*notarius beati Cypriani*." As to the time, Cyprian might have personally known Tertullian, who lived at least till the year 220.

contrary to the letter of the ecclesiastical laws, and led afterwards to the schism of the party of Novatus. But the result proved, that here, as in the similar elevation of Ambrose, Augustine, and other eminent bishops of the ancient church, the voice of the people was the voice of God.

For the space of ten years, ending with his triumphant martyrdom in 258, Cyprian administered the episcopal office in Carthage with exemplary energy, wisdom, and fidelity, and that in a most stormy time, amidst persecutions from without and schismatic agitations within, of which we have already spoken in their proper place.²

As Origen was the greatest scholar, Cyprian was the greatest bishop, of the third century. He was born to be a prince in the church, and, in executive talent, he even surpassed all the popes of his time; and he bore himself towards them, also, as "frater" and "collega," in the spirit of full equality. Augustine calls him by eminence, "the catholic bishop and catholic martyr;" and Vincentius of Lirinum, "the light of all saints, all martyrs, and all bishops." His stamp of character was more that of Peter than either of Paul or John. His peculiar importance falls not so much in the field of theology, where he lacks originality and depth, as in church organization and discipline. While Tertullian dealt mainly with heretics, Cyprian directed his polemics against schismatics, among whom he had to condemn, though he never does in fact, his venerated teacher, who died a Montanist. Yet his own conduct was not perfectly consistent with his position; for in the controversy on heretical baptism he himself exhibited his master's spirit of opposition to Rome. He set a limit to his own exclusive catholic principle of tradition by the truly Protestant maxims: "*Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est,*" and, "*Non est de consuetudine praescribendum, sed ratione vincendum.*" In him the idea of the old catholic hierarchy and episcopal autocracy, both in its affinity and in its conflict with the idea of the papacy, was personally embodied, so to speak, and became flesh and blood. The unity of the church, as the

¹ Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 5.

² Comp. §§ 56, 104, and 115.

vehicle and medium of all salvation, was the thought of his life and the passion of his heart. But he contended with the same zeal for an independent episcopate as for a Roman primacy; and the authority of his name has been therefore as often employed against the papacy as in its favor.¹ On both sides he was the faithful organ of the churchly spirit of the age.

It were great injustice to attribute his high churchly principles to pride and ambition, though temptations to this spirit unquestionably beset a prominent position like his. Such principles are entirely compatible with sincere personal humility before God. It was the deep conviction of the divine authority, and the heavy responsibility of the episcopate, which lay at the bottom both of his first "nolo episcopari," and of his subsequent hierarchical feeling. He was as conscientious in discharging the duties, as he was jealous in maintaining the rights, of his office. Notwithstanding his high conception of the dignity of a bishop, he took counsel of his presbyters in everything, and respected the rights of his people. He knew how to combine strictness and moderation, dignity and gentleness, and to inspire love and confidence as well as esteem and veneration. He took upon himself, like a father, the care of the widows and orphans, the poor and sick. During the great pestilence of 252 he showed the most self-sacrificing fidelity to his flock, and love for his enemies. He forsook his congregation, indeed, in the Decian persecution, but only, as he expressly assured them, in pursuance of a divine admonition, and in order to direct them during his fourteen months of exile by pastoral epistles. In the Valerian persecution he completely washed away the stain of that flight with the blood of his dignified and cheerful martyrdom. He exercised rigid discipline, though at a later period—not in perfect consistency—he moderated his disciplinary principles in prudent accommodation to the exigencies of the times. With Tertullian he prohibited all display of female dress, which only deformed the work of the Creator; and he warmly opposed all participation in heathen amusements,—even refusing a converted play-actor permission

¹ Comp. §§ 108–111, and § 104.

to give instruction in declamation and pantomime. He lived in a simple, ascetic way, under a sense of the perishableness of all earthly things, and in view of the solemn eternity, in which alone also the questions and strifes of the church militant would be perfectly settled. "Only above," says he in his tract *De mortalitate*, which he composed during the pestilence, "only above are true peace, sure repose, constant, firm, and eternal security; there is our dwelling, there our home. Who would not fain hasten to reach it? There a great multitude of beloved awaits us; the numerous host of fathers, brethren, and children. There is the glorious choir of apostles; there the number of exulting prophets; there the countless multitude of martyrs, crowned with victory after warfare and suffering; there triumphing virgins; there the merciful enjoying their reward. Thither let us hasten with longing desire; let us wish to be soon with them, soon with Christ. After the earthly comes the heavenly; after the small follows the great; after perishableness, eternity."

As an author, Cyprian is far less original, fertile, and vigorous, than Tertullian, but is clearer, more moderate, and more elegant and rhetorical in his style. He really produced only on the doctrines of the church, the priesthood, and sacrifice.

1. His most important works relate to practical questions on church government and discipline. Among these is his tract on the Unity of the Church (A.D. 251), that "magna charta" of the old catholic high-church spirit, the commanding importance of which we have already observed.¹ Then eighty-one Epistles,² some very long, to various bishops, to the clergy and the churches of Africa and of Rome, to the confessors, to the lapsed, &c.; comprising also some letters from others in reply, as from Cornelius of Rome and Firmilian of Caesarea, and giving us a very graphic picture of his pastoral labors and of the whole church life of that day. To the same class belongs also his treatise: *De lapsis* (A.D. 250) against loose penitential discipline.

¹ *Con.* § 111.

² The order of them varies in different editions, occasioning frequent confusion in citation.

2. Besides these he wrote a series of moral works on the grace of God (246); on the Lord's prayer (252); on mortality (252) against worldly-mindedness and pride of dress in consecrated virgins (*De habitu virginum*); a glowing call to martyrdom; an exhortation to liberality (*De opere et eleemosynis*, between 254 and 256); with a touch of the "opus operatum" doctrine; and two beautiful tracts written during his controversy with pope Stephanus: *De bono patientiae*, and *De zelo et livore* (about 256), in which he exhorts the excited minds to patience and moderation.

3. Least important are his two apologetic works, the product of his Christian pupilage. One is directed against heathenism (*De idolorum vanitate*), and is borrowed in great part, often verbally, from Tertullian and Minucius Felix. The other, against Judaism (*Testimonia adversus Judaeos*), also contains no new thoughts, but furnishes a careful collection of Scriptural proofs of the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus.

§ 132. *The other Latin Divines of the Third Century.*

Comp. particularly MÖHLER: *Patrologie* I. 790-808 and 894-933.

MARCUS MINUCIUS FELIX, a prominent jurist, but hardly of the celebrated Roman family of the Minucii, and probably of North African descent, a younger contemporary of Tertullian,¹ embraced Christianity in adult life, and wrote one of the ablest and most attractive apologies, which was, in part, imitated from Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, and formed the model of Cyprian's work against idolatry. It is entitled: *Octavius*,² and is clothed in the form of a dialogue between two friendly lawyers, Caecilius Natalis and Januarius Octavius, the former of whom defends heathenism, while the latter advocates Christianity, and

¹ Jerome (*Catal.* c. 58) places him between Tertullian and Cyprian. Later writers differ as to the chronology.

² It well deserves to be read through, and has been often edited, e. g.; by Balduinus, 1560; Gronovius, 1709; Davis, Cambridge, 1712; Lindner, 1773; Lübker, 1836; de Muralt, 1836; Oehler (in Gersdorf's *Biblioth. P. Lat.*) Leipz. 1847.

at last gains the victory and brings over his friend. The arguments on both sides are clearly and forcibly stated in a tone of flowing declamation and poignant raillery, as we may expect from an intelligent and well read Roman rhetorician.

The Roman presbyter CAIUS, who died about the year 220, is known to us only from a few Greek fragments as an opponent of Montanism and Chiliasm. Perhaps he was also the author of the corrupted Latin canon, which Muratori has discovered; but he certainly was not the author of the *Philosophoumena*.¹

NOVATIAN, the schismatic bishop of Rome and advocate of the strict penitential discipline,² was a contemporary of Cyprian, a man of learned education, and well versed in the Greek philosophy. He is the only important writer of this period in the Roman church, except the somewhat older Hippolytus, who wrote, however, as Caius also did, in Greek. We have from him a work on the Trinity,³ composed about 256, in which he skilfully refutes the error of the Monarchians, especially of Sabelius, and strives to reconcile the divine threeness with unity.⁴ In his treatise on the Jewish laws of food,⁵ he proves by allegorical interpretation, that those laws are no longer binding upon Christians, and that Christ has substituted temperance and abstinence for the prohibition of unclean animals, with the exception of meat offered to idols, which is forbidden by the Apostolic council. The circular letter of the Roman clergy, which is ascribed to him, contains his earlier milder penitential principles.

VICTORINUS, probably of Greek extraction, bishop of Petavium in the present Styria, who died a martyr in 303, wrote several commentaries on books of the Old and New Testaments, but only some inconsiderable fragments of them have come down to us. Several poems also are attributed to him, but without sufficient grounds.

¹ Comp. § 125.

² Comp. § 115. The Greek writers often confound him with the contemporary Novatus of Carthage.

³ *Liber de trinitate*, in Gallandi, tom. iii. This book has been attributed also to Tertullian and Cyprian.

⁴ Comp. § 81.

⁵ *De cibis Judaicis Epistola*.

COMMODIAN, a layman, who probably lived in Africa in the second half of the third century, was converted from heathenism by reading the Bible, and wrote, in uncouth versification and barbarian hexameter, "Instructions for the Christian Life,"¹ in which he seeks to convert heathens and Jews, and gives excellent exhortations to catechumens, believers, and penitents. It is divided into eighty strophes, each of which is an acrostic, the initial letters of the lines composing the title or subject of the section. This book is not unimportant to the history of practical Christianity, and, under a rude dress in connexion with many superstitious notions, reveals an humble and fervent Christian heart. Like Victorinus and most of the ante-Nicene fathers, except the Alexandrians, Commodian was a millenarian.

ARNOBIUS, of Sicca in Numidia, a teacher of rhetoric, was for a long time a decided opponent of Christianity, and embraced it in consequence of a vision in a dream—such visions appear to have been a frequent cause of conversions, especially in Africa—and wrote, about the year 304, an apologetic and polemic work,² which shows more address in the refutation of heathenism, than in the demonstration of Christianity; never cites the holy scriptures; hardly brings out in any way the specifically Christian element; and with many clever thoughts, propounds also erratic views, such as the destructibility of the soul and the final annihilation of the wicked, without method and in swelling rhetoric, but with a certain freshness and vigor. His own conversion he thus describes:³ "O blindness! But a short time ago I was worshipping images just taken from the forge, gods shaped upon the anvil and by the hammer. . . . When I saw a stone made smooth and smeared with oil, I prayed to it and addressed it, as if a living power dwelt in it, and implored blessings from the senseless stock, and offered grievous insult even to the gods, whom I took to be such, in that I considered them wood, stone,

¹ *Instructiones adversus gentium Deos*, in eighty chapters; first edited by Rigaltius, 1650, and sometimes also as an appendix to the works of Cyprian.

² *Disputationum adversus gentes libri vii.* Published by Canter, Antw. 1582; by Salmasius, 1651; Orelli, 1816; Oehler (in the *Bibl. P. Lat.* vol. xii.) 1846

L. I. c. 39 (p. 26, ed. Oehler).

and bone, or fancied that they dwelt in the stuff of such things. Now that I have been led by so great a teacher into the way of truth, I know what all that is, I think worthily of the Worthy, offer no insult to the Godhead, and give every one his due." Upon this public confession of faith the bishop of Sicca, who at first did not trust him, administered baptism to him. What afterwards became of him, we know not.

From his rhetorical school proceeded LACTANTIUS († 330), called for his elegant Latin, the Christian Cicero. But, as a contemporary of Constantine the Great, he belongs rather, like Eusebius, to the following period.

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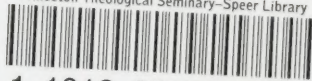
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